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LABIB HABACHI. — SIXTEEN STUDIES ON LOWER NUBIA (CASAE 23)

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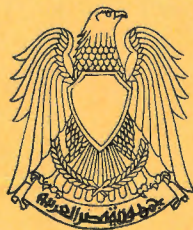
ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTÉ

CAHIER N° 23

SIXTEEN STUDIES
ON LOWER NUBIA

BY

LABIB HABACHI



LE CAIRE

IMPRIMERIE DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS
D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

MCMLXXXI

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PREFACE

When the Cairo University (then Fuad el-Awwal University) was inaugurated in 1925, a group of 15 young students, who had already passed two years studying Egyptology in the Higher Training School, joined it in the Section of Egyptology, forming a part of the Faculty of Arts. There they passed three more years. Twelve of them were the only graduates of the University, from which thousands of students are graduating from it since then every year.

Labib Habachi was one of the twelve students who graduated then, but he joined the Antiquities Organisation (then Antiquities Department) only in 1930, when a post of inspector was released by one of those who were then entrusted only with administrative work. In 1943 he was promoted as Chief Inspector and in 1958 he occupied the important post of the Director of Field Work; two years later he resigned to devote all his time to research work.

During the thirty years in the Antiquities Department, he was transferred from one inspectorate to another fifteen times. That gave him the opportunity of seeing more ancient sites and old buildings than perhaps any living Egyptologist. He did his best then to keep in good order and safety the places and old buildings under his supervision, and with open eyes he tried to point out, and sometimes, to study any object found by mere chance or overlooked in many sites. In many places, he dug, but actually only making soundings, being single-handed, and being taken by his administrative obligations, he had quite limited time to spend in these soundings.

During these thirty years, he passed two years in the Cairo Museum, where he was able to study the big collection of that

museum. That he also did after he resigned from the Antiquities Department. He was able then to pass several weeks, sometimes months in each of the Metropolitan Museum, N.Y., Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum and the Egyptian Museum of Turin. His tours of inspection, his digs, and his work in the Cairo Museum and those abroad enabled him to publish about ten monographs and nearly one hundred articles.

For this reason and for the help he gave all the time to Egyptian and foreign scholars, there is hardly any study published in the last twenty-five years without his name mentioned. He was also invited to go abroad about twenty times to make studies in certain countries, sometimes giving lectures in various institutes teaching Egyptology. In recognition for the help he gave to foreigners and for his studies, he was honoured in Egypt and in some other foreign countries with decorations and chosen as honorary member of certain scientific foundations.

As inspector of Antiquities, Dr. Habachi started his career at Aswan, to which Nubia belonged. There he stayed through the years 1930 till 1932, when the building of the Second Heightening of the Aswan Reservoir was in progress. To the post of Chief Inspector, Luxor, to which Nubia also belonged, he was appointed in 1943 to stay there till 1946 and to return to it in 1951 where he stayed till 1958. During that latter period, the huge operations of the achievement of the Aswan High-Dam were going on.

During all these periods, he was engaged in some work in Nubia, taking part in several committees concerned with the Salvage of Nubian Monuments. Even after he resigned, he worked for three successive seasons as a consultant of the Oriental Institute of Chicago Expedition engaged in the Salvage of the Nubian Monuments. During that work, before and after it, he was much interested in Nubia. On that land, he published eleven

articles, four in *Kush*, and the rest in seven different publications. Dr. Habachi was kind enough to accept publishing these studies in this monograph, together with five more ones; these being :

- 1) Personal Memories of Lower Nubia during the Last Half Century.
- 2) Identification of Heqaib and Sabni with Owners of Tombs in Qubbet El-Hawa and their Relationship with Nubia.
- 3) Viceroys of Kush during the Reigns of Sethos I and Rameses II and the Order in which they Assumed their Function.
- 4) Viceroys of Kush during the New Kingdom.
- 5) The Owners of the Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul, Apropos of a Graffito in Es-Sarrag (Edfu District).

Dr. Habachi has just attained the age of 70 years. May we wish him a long life, full of happiness and a long continuance of the interesting studies in the subject to which he has devoted his whole life!

April 1976

Ahmed KADRY

FOREWORD

In reproducing in the present monograph the eleven studies already published in various periodicals, I decided not to republish the plates accompanying these studies. The publication of such plates would have added much to the size and cost of the monograph; those who are keen to examine these plates may find them in the original publication. But in case no facsimile was made of the texts in these plates, I was keen to add ones in the present publication.

I would not like to leave the present opportunity without thanking my friends Ahmed Kadry, who invited me to publish «The Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia», Jean Vercoutter, who accepted it for publication in the IFAO printing office and Rinaldo Gori, who did not save any effort to publish it in the best way. My thanks also are due to Mahmoud Tewfik; the capable draughtsman, responsible for all the drawings in this book. Finally, let me hope that the present book will interest my colleagues, especially those who have taken a part in saving the heritage of Nubia, before it disappeared! May I hope also that it will induce those who are sitting on their reports to release them to their colleagues!

Labib HABACHI

CHAPTER I

PERSONAL MEMORIES OF LOWER NUBIA DURING THE LAST HALF CENTURY

IT was my friend Ahmed Kadry, who suggested to me the idea that my many articles on Lower Nubia dispersed over many periodicals, together with those I was intending to send to other periodicals, were worth publishing in a monograph. Knowing that I was one of the few persons still living who had been in constant contact with Lower Nubia, now disappearing under the stored water of the High Dam, he invited me to speak of my memories on that land. This I was very glad to do, for it is the place to which my attention was directed, when I was first appointed as Inspector of Antiquities, and to which I returned again and again to supervise, dig, record or study its monuments.

While still a student in the Fouad el-Awwal (Cairo) University, I visited Aswan in January 1924 in company with my fellow students. We were then led by Dr. Labib Nessim, who had discovered some mines of red ochre. I was able to point out to him, in the neighbourhood of Abu Er-Rish village (5 kms. to the north of Aswan), some important inscriptions of the XIXth Dynasty (circa 13th century B.C.)⁽¹⁾. What a thrilling moment for a student only just starting his studies in Egyptology!

I went to Aswan in 1930, this time as Inspector of Antiquities. I was in charge of an extensive area stretching from the Egyptian-Sudanese border to a little south of Luxor. This area, which is full of important monuments, is at present supervised by four inspectors.

⁽¹⁾ These inscriptions were spoken of rather briefly by R. Moss, «Iron-Mines near Aswan», *JEA*, 36, 1950, p. 112 f., see also PM VII, 1951, p. 320. But they will be fully studied and illustrated in HABACHI-GOEDICKE, *Inscriptions Outside Aswan* (in press).

But I was aware of my responsibilities, and resolved to keep my large territory in good order. I have to add, however, that ways of transportation in Nubia in those days were rather primitive. The only communication was the Sudanese steam boat which made one trip a week in both ways. Thus the inspection of a site or monument in any part of Nubia, which could be accomplished in one or two hours, then needed a whole week. For this reason I hesitated to go to Ballana (South of Abu Simbel), when the police reported that a tomb had been plundered there. Instead of going there personally, I sent a report to Walter Emery, who, with his assistants, was then examining all the sites liable to be submerged by the second heightening of the Aswan Dam. This report reached him at the proper moment! It had been previously decided that all the tumuli in the Qustul-Ballana area were a natural feature of the land, and Emery was hesitating to dig there, as even a trial dig in one of these tumuli would have sadly depleted his limited budget. But that police report promptly ended his hesitation, and the dig carried out there resulted in the discovery of the burials of the Kings and Queens of the Nobodae, considered to be the most spectacular and historically important discovery ever made in Nubia ⁽¹⁾. I paid dearly for my laziness! Had I gone personally to Ballana

⁽¹⁾ During my work in Aswan (1930-2), I had the opportunity to follow the excavations and survey between Es-Sebua and Addindan done before the second heightening of the Aswan Dam. For the story of the discovery of the Ballana and Qustul tumuli, and how the tomb-robbers were the reason for ending the hesitation of Emery in digging these tumuli, see his book: *Lost Land Emerging*, 1965, pp. 52 ff. There he tells how a geological expedition passed by the place a short time before his dig, and took the tumuli to be natural ones, while Miss Emilia Edwards, an amateur archaeologist, though devoted and quite enthusiastic, refers to these mounds, saying: « Who made them? What did they contain? ... the Egyptian and Ethiopian armies that certainly poured their thousands along these very banks, and that might have fought many a battle on this open plain, suggest all kinds of possibilities, and fill one's head with visions of buried arms, and jewels, and cinerary urns », *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, 1890, p. 314. Such finds guessed by that lady 60 years before the discoveries of Emery proved them to be almost true.

I would have had the honour of taking part in bringing to light these beautiful and important relics of a little-known culture!

In 1932 I left Aswan and was transferred almost fifteen times from one inspectorate after another. First I was sent to Luxor, then to Cairo, Edfu, Fayum, Luxor, then to Sohag, Zagazig, Tanta, and again to Luxor, but this time as Chief Inspector of Upper Egypt (1943-1946). In this last capacity I supervised the area from the Egyptian-Sudanese frontiers to a short distance south of Abydos. In 1945 the Committee of Restoration came to Aswan to look for monuments worthy of being restored. I took this opportunity to ask M. Etienne Drioton to approve a sum of money sufficient to clear a part of Elephantine Island, where, some fifteen years before, statues and shrines had made their appearance. This committee did not have much to do, and we used to call it the « Dindy (Turkey) Committee », since its members usually had one of these excellent birds for each meal! On the day of my request two « Dindys » were butchered in their honour, so, everyone being replete and in good humour, it was quite easy to get money needed for the dig!

In a space of only nearly fifteen metres every side fifty statues or fragments of statues, and about the same number of objects like stelae and offering tables came to light. Some of these were inscribed with an invocation to Heqaib, a nomarch of the area who had been deified for his bravery. Such a number of objects, all of the rare monuments of the Middle Kingdom, gave us the possibility of tracing several generations of nomarchs and other important officials who lived during the 21st to the 18th century B.C., as well as objects dedicated by pilgrims to the Sanctuary of the deified Heqaib ⁽¹⁾. The following year I went to the Necropolis of the Nobles in Aswan, where I found the tombs of Sabni and the same Heqaib, surrounded by burials of a score of devotees ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ For this temple, see L. НАВАХИ, « Hekaib, The Deified Governor of Elephantine », in *Archæology*, 9, 1956, pp. 8 ff., (Id., Par. HEQAIB in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 1, 1120 ff.) and our forthcoming book on *The Sanctuary of Heqaib on Elephantine Island*.

⁽²⁾ For the importance of these persons, whose tombs were found there, see « Identification of the Deified Heqaib and his Son Sabni with Owners of Tombs in Qubbet El-Hawa and their Relationship with Nubia » (*Chapter II*).

After an absence of some years, I came back again to the same post, and settled for eight years (1951-1958). Since then I have been deeply interested in the history of both Aswan and Nubia, and have studied many of the rock-inscriptions in that area. Some of these referred to the Viceroys of Kush and their assistants, who controlled Nubia⁽¹⁾. Many of these inscriptions are of great importance and interest; they tell us of the people engaged in quarrying huge masses of granite for monuments, such as great obelisks, and colossal statues⁽²⁾. It is really not surprising to know how some of these men used to boast of their great achievements. One of them said, in a long and hitherto overlooked inscription: «I was a vigilant Controller who did not sleep . . . though this land was provided with controllers and experts, there was none who could equal him in respect to his ability «namely the Overseer of the Builders of Amun, Humen».

Humen really seems to have been entitled to boast, he controlled for his Sovereign the work on six obelisks at the same time! For this achievement he was rewarded with a grant of fifty arouras of land (about 34 acres), two ingots of gold and silver, and twenty slaves⁽³⁾.

As Chief Inspector of Upper Egypt, including Nubia, I had to take part in proposed steps for solving problems created by the erection of the

⁽¹⁾ On these viceroys we wrote several studies: «The Graffiti and Work of the Viceroys in the Region of Aswan» (*Chapter III*), «The First Two Viceroys of Kush and their Family» (*Chapter IV*) and «Four Objects Belonging to Viceroys of Kush and Officials Associated with them» (*Chapter V*). For the graffiti I studied in the area of the Cataract Region, see my contribution in the *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique*, 1973, pp. 185-192.

⁽²⁾ As can be seen by the rock-stela of Senmut speaking of the two obelisks he made for Hatshepsut, HABACHI in *JNES*, 16, 1957, pp. 88 ff., of Minemhab, in charge of the work on a statue of Ramesses II as 'Re-of-the-Rulers', Id., *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, 1969, p. 26. In this respect the stelae of Sethos I commemorating the carving of statues and obelisks should be mentioned, see Id., in *BIFAO*, LXXIII, 1973, pp. 113 ff.

⁽³⁾ This man may have served Amenophis III, since no record of that king's obelisks, attested elsewhere, are found in the area of Aswan, while of other sovereigns we have sometimes more than one record, see Id., «An Inscription in Aswan Mentioning Six Obelisks», in *JEA*, 36, 1950, pp. 13-18.

High Dam, the completion of which would transform the whole land of Nubia into a vast artificial lake. Before this happened, it was essential that all the ancient sites should be examined, temples and tombs recorded, and then dismantled and re-erected on high, safe ground. There was also the task of removing the inhabitants of the doomed villages, and re-settling them in other places in Egypt and the Sudan. A committee, with Selim Hassan as chairman, was formed in 1954. The object of this committee was to inspect all the monuments of Nubia, and decide upon steps to be taken for their salvation. The result was the publication of a Report by the Chairman in Arabic, English and French, in which solutions to the problems were proposed, and Selim Hassan stated that the Egyptian authorities and scientists were capable of carrying out the proposed plans.

Concerning the salvage of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel, the major monument in the whole area, he proposed the building of a vast wall, enclosing the whole facade of the temple, and reaching in height to the top of the cliffs to prevent the water from penetrating the monument. In order to allow visitors access to it, he proposed sinking a shaft from the top of the cliffs down to the centre of the building, and installing a lift in it. Selim Hassan estimated the cost of this plan to be L.E. 50,000 and the cost of the salvage of all Nubian monuments to be L.E. 660,000⁽¹⁾.

There is no wireless in Nubia, but news seems to travel from place to place at almost the same speed! In the many places in which we passed the night, we found teachers of Primary Schools, and other officials waiting for us, and all eager to meet our Chairman who was well-known to be the Dean of Egyptology. They asked him many questions, the main one being «what book are you preparing?» The answer was «On the relations of Egypt with the Sudan». Then invariably came the question «How many pages will this book contain?»

⁽¹⁾ We left Aswan on December 22, 1954 to return to it on January 3, 1955. A full report was submitted by Dr. Selim Hassan to the Minister of Education, as *Report on the Monuments of Nubia Likely to be Submerged by Sadd-el-'Ali Water*, (Government Press, Cairo), 1955.

No writer can state the exact number of pages his book would contain, and at the start of the voyage, Selim Hassan estimated that it would be about three hundred pages, but the further south he went, the estimated number of pages increased, to attain five hundred at the end of the voyage. But I have to say that when the book finally appeared, it contained five hundred and eighty five pages!

Soon after the appearance of the above-mentioned trilingual Report, discussions took place, and it was found out that the technical workers and money available in Egypt were not enough. It was then decided to contact UNESCO and appeal to all its members to contribute to saving the Nubian monuments. The result was the formation of about twenty expeditions, some from countries that had never before worked in Egypt, and whose members had hardly an idea of the techniques of excavation. But once invited, such people could not be refused! The Centre of Documentation for the Studies of Ancient Egypt, financed by the Egyptian Government and UNESCO, took care of all inscriptions in Nubia⁽¹⁾. Actually, the salvation of Nubian monuments cost more than sixty million pounds. But publicity was needed in order to collect money for dismantling, rebuilding these temples and saving the other temples.

This met with a large response in Europe and the States. I was invited to take part in one of these collection campaigns. This happened when Gordon Gaskill of the «Reader's Digest» was visiting Egypt. We went to Nubia together in a house-boat, towed by a tug-boat. Gaskill

⁽¹⁾ This work was started in 1955 and continued for many years by members of the Centre of Documentation, Egypt, and by scholars from abroad and delegated for epigraphic work by the Unesco. Pamphlets with loose leaves were issued from time to time on the inscriptions of each temple. The only book already printed dealing with the history and inscriptions of temples is that of Ch. DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT and Ch. KUENTZ, *Le Petit temple d'Abou Simbel*, 1968. During the years 1955-6 I was organising the campaign for recording the two temples of Abu Simbel, and I was able to study the scenes showing «Features of the Deification of Ramesses II in Abu Simbel and Other Places in Lower Nubia» (*Chapter XIII*), as well as the graffiti in the area (This will be the subject of a monograph to be published later), which helped me on writing as «Viceroys of Kush during the New Kingdom» (*Chapter IX*).

wrote an article of five pages that was so successful that one million and a half were collected for the salvage of the two temples of Abu Simbel. His article was entitled «SOS from the Temples of Nubia», and to make it look well-documented he mentioned that he was accompanied by the «world famous Egyptologist Labib Habachi»!⁽¹⁾

But that trip had a still more important result for me personally. After I decided to submit my resignation from the Antiquities Department in 1960, it was not easy for me to join any foreign expedition working in Nubia; the authorities thought that if they allow that, they would add to my pride! But Gordon Gaskill was on good terms with the Minister of Culture, and he offered him in a nicely bound book containing copies of «SOS » in the thirteen languages into which it had been published. Once he met him, he asked him why he prevented me from sharing my knowledge with those who were eager to make use of it? The Minister was obliged to agree with Gaskill, and that is how I came to join the Nubia Joint Expedition of the Swiss Institute, Cairo, and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, as a consultant.

The relations between the Directors of these two Institutes were not very happy, and the work in the first season in Tafa-Kalabsha was done rather hastily⁽²⁾. During the second season, when the

⁽¹⁾ Vol. 77, No. 459, July 1960, pp. 100 ff. During that trip, I had my eyes open for any monuments overlooked. It was then that I found among the debris taken out of the Temple of Amenophis III at Es-Sebua' a block which fitted the lower part of a dyad of the viceroy Setau and his wife Mutnofret. This discovery led me to write the article «Setau, the Famous Viceroy of Ramses II and his Career» (*Chapter VII*). Previously I spoke of the cult of Amun and other divinities in this area in my study of : «Five Stelae from the Temple of Amenophis III at Es-Sebua', now in the Aswan Museum» (*Chapter XI*).

⁽²⁾ Still two books were written on the work done during that short season, one by RICKE-HUGHES-WENTE, *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*, 1967, and the second by RICKE et alii, *Ausgrabungen von Khor-Dehmit bis Bet-el-Wali*, 1967. In this latter volume I studied the discovered 'Tongefasse, Kleinfunde', pp. 46-70. Being there, I took the opportunity to study «Divinities Adored in the Area of Kalabasha . . . » (*Chapter XII*), as well as the graffiti on Kalabsha Temple. This led me to speak on «The Owners of the Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul, Apropos of a Graffito in Es-Sarrag» which I saw many years before (*Chapter XVI*).

work was carried on in Serra East, the Director of the expedition of the Oriental Institute was unable to be present, and everything went smoothly. In the third season the tumuli of Ballana and Qustul were examined, but the atmosphere there was rather embarrassing. Ten rather petty regulations were imposed upon the members of the group, one of which insisting that everyone should shave before dinner! Nearly all the members quitted at the end of the season!

Since that time my contact with Aswan and Nubia has been fairly limited, except for some studies on their monuments which appeared from time to time. One took me from Cairo to Ed-Derr to publish one single rock-inscription⁽¹⁾.

In 1964 I went to Nubia with an Adventist Pastor, who was making a picture recording the evacuation of the land. This allowed me to see how the temples were being dismantled, and how the inhabitants of the village were quitting their homes with tears in their eyes. I also saw the coffer dam built in front of the Temples of Abu Simbel. This dam was made in order to fend off the rising water of Lake Nasser, while the gigantic task of cutting the temples into huge blocks was proceeding. Eight years later I saw the two temples crowning the cliffs in the base of which they had originally been carved.

It was indeed a miracle that the ingeneers of the Hochtiff Company performed when they saved the temples of Ramesses II, carved by the King's technicians thirty-two centuries ago! I could hardly see the joints between the re-assembled blocks⁽²⁾, when I was accompanied on my visit to Abu Simbel by Gerald Hawkins, the astronomer. He was trying to discover the relation between the orientation of Egyptian temples and the summer

⁽¹⁾ For this inscription and others of the New Kingdom, see «The Administration of Nubia during the New Kingdom ...» (*Chapter X*).

⁽²⁾ For an account made on the work done in the Two Temples, see *The Salvage of the Abu Simbel Temples* by the Consulting Engineers and architects, Stockholm, Sweden, 1976. In my way back from this visit, I had the opportunity of seeing the newly-discovered Stela of Psammetikhos II at El-Shallal, and I then remembered the upper part of a similar one seen already by Lepsius and Weigall, and now in the Cairo Museum. This led me to write my study on : «Psammétique II dans la région de la première Cataracte» (*Chapter XV*).

solstice. And to what better place than the Great Temple of Abu Simbel and its adjacent solar chapel could he go to verify such features⁽¹⁾?

During the long history of humanity, one can hardly remember that an inhabited land like Nubia, almost 500 kms. in extent, and with such a great heritage had disappeared at the hand of man. But it has to be remembered that almost everything in that extensive land was saved through international efforts⁽²⁾.

Nubia is the Land which brings to my mind many recollections all along the last fifty years⁽³⁾, and I am glad to have the opportunity to

⁽¹⁾ Louis-A. CHRISTOPHE in his *Abou-Simbel et l'épopée de sa découverte*, 1965, pp. 200-3 speaks of 'L'axe du grand temple'. According to him the first rays of the sun fall on the statues in the sanctuary carved deep in the cliffs from February 10th to March 1st and from October 10th to the 30th. But it is in the middle of each of these periods that they illuminate the four statues at the same time. The chapel to the north, dedicated to the solar gods, has a false pylon on the front, where the rays of the sun seem to fall all the year long within its opening. Gerald Hawkins, who had studied the Stone-hinges and examined the Mexico monuments, has failed to find indications assuring that Egyptians oriented their temples towards planets or the solstices. We together passed by the open courts with altars dedicated to solar gods in many temples, including that of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (PM II³, 362-vii) and that of the Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (*ibid.*, 509 f. — Side Rooms 17-19), but there were no indications for such features. During this visit to Abu Simbel, I was able to study the inscriptions carved by the viceroys round the two temples. With this study, I finished my study on «Viceroys of Kush during the Reigns of Sethos I and Ramesses II and the Order in which they Assumed their Function» (*Chapter VIII*).

⁽²⁾ Contacting Nubia for the last fifty years, I described what happened there in my two rather popular articles «The Deluge in Lower Nubia», in *Archaeology*, 1969, 22, pp. 196-203 and «Resurrection in Nubia», in *Egypt Travel Magazine*, February 1964, 51, pp. 30-35.

⁽³⁾ In 1973, I visited the States, where I stayed about three months. Most of that interval I passed in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. With the help of my friend Lanny Bell, I was able to complete my study on «Miscellanea on Viceroys of Kush and their Assistants in Dra' Abu El-Naga, South» (*Chapter VI*). Most of the studied objects are kept in the University Museum, where Bell has been teaching. In my way back, I read a paper on : «Mentuhotp, the Vizier and Son-in-Law of Taharqa» (*Chapter XIV*) in the Meroitic Congress which was held in Paris in July 1973.

tell my many colleagues and friends, and also the innumerable people interested in the history of that Land, once the link between Egypt and the South, of some of my recollections and research work in that Land. Nubia was doomed to disappear from the surface of the earth, for the prosperity of Egypt and it was decided that before its disappearance its monuments must be saved and recorded. I hope the following chapters would arouse the interest of those who took part in its salvage in the last decade to write up the result of their work and any memories they have before it would be too late⁽¹⁾!

⁽¹⁾ Much of the work done there was already published, see Louis-A. CHRISTOPHE, *Bibliographie, Campagne de l'Unesco pour la sauvegarde des sites et monuments de Nubie*, 1977. It has to be said, however, that there are some reports on excavations carried and inscriptions copied which are still waiting publication. We hope that these will be soon out.

CHAPTER II

IDENTIFICATION OF HEQAIB AND SABNI WITH OWNERS OF TOMBS IN QUBBET EL-HAWA AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH NUBIA

AFTER the discovery in 1946 of the temple erected on Elephantine Island in honour of Heqaib, it was quite important to know who this man was, and what were his achievements which entitled to deification after his death. In his temple, about 15 ms. on every side, eight shrines, and about ten lifesize statues and nearly ninety more objects, private and royal, such as stelae, statues, offering-tables and altars dating from the beginning of the XIth Dynasty to the end of the XIIIth were unearthed⁽¹⁾.

Of the deified individuals and even kings, a few monuments which could throw light on their cult were encountered and fewer were those which were found in one single place as happened in the Temple of Heqaib⁽²⁾. Since many people who lived on Elephantine dedicated monuments in honour of this man, it is quite likely that he was buried in the cemetery of Qubbet el-Hawa, where important persons in the area carved their tombs.

⁽¹⁾ For a preliminary report on this discovery, see Labib HABACHI, «Hekaib, the Deified Governor of Elephantine», in *Archaeology*, 9, 1956, pp. 8-15. For Heqaib, see paragraph «Heqaib» in HELCK-OTTO, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, 1120 ff.

⁽²⁾ For deified individuals, see Labib HABACHI, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II* (1969) in *Abhandlungen des D. Arch. Inst. Kairo*, pp. 50 ff. As a matter of fact, only few monuments were found in the place of cult of Isi in Edfu, see PM, *Bibliography*, V, 1937, pp. 201 ff.

In this cemetery, three persons with the name of Heqaib chose their resting-places. One of them was sure to have lived during the Middle Kingdom. The second may also have flourished during the same period, while the third has undoubtedly lived at the end of the Old Kingdom.

The first of these left a big tomb, unfortunately undecorated, except for a niche at the end of the tomb. On it is a fragmentary inscription giving the name and title of the owner as : «*(The overseer of the) prophets (?)*, *Heqaib, son of Sathathor*»⁽¹⁾. This man lived in the middle of the XIIth Dynasty and left a lifesize statue in the Temple of Heqaib, and therefore, could not be identified with him.

The second left quite a small tomb with decorations on all its walls. There he is described as : «*The venerated Heqaib, son of Piedebi, born of Ipet*». No title is attributed to him in all the inscriptions of the tomb. There, he is depicted with dark skin, and is shown in one scene inspecting his cattle and setting out for a hunt. In a second scene he is pulling his arc towards a wild bull, while in a third he is represented opposite a number of archers and members of his family⁽²⁾. That man does not seem to have been of such an importance as to have been the subject of adoration after his death. He seems to have lived during the Middle Kingdom, as Heqaib, son of Sathathor⁽³⁾.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PEPINAKHT, CALLED HEQAIB, AS ATTESTED IN HIS TOMB.

The third Heqaib left also a small tomb. But the biographical inscription engraved on the façade of this tomb shows the importance of his position during the reign of Pepi II under whom he lived⁽⁴⁾. There we read : «*The majesty of my lord sent me to devastate Wawat and*

⁽¹⁾ Tomb No. 30. For this tomb, see H.W. MÜLLER, *Die Felsengräber Fürsten von Elephantine*, (AFS, 9) 1940, pp. 89 ff., see also pl. XXXVIII, XXXIX, and figs. 44-46.

⁽²⁾ Tomb No. 28, in PM, *Bibliography*, V, 232 f.

⁽³⁾ E. EDEL in *Beiträge zu den Inschriften des Mittleren Reiches in den Gräbern der Qubbet el Hawa* (MÄS 25), 1971, p. 44 f.

⁽⁴⁾ For this tomb, see DE MORGAN et alii, *Cat. des mon. et inscr.* I, 1894, p. 174. For its inscriptions, see *Urk.* I, 131-135.

Irthet, and I acted to the satisfaction of my lord. I slew a great number from their chieftains' children and skilled troop commanders; I brought a great number from there to the residence as prisoners of war. For I was in charge of a great and stout army through the stoutness of my heart, and my lord relied on me in every mission on which he sent me.

Now the majesty of my lord sent me to pacify the foreign countries, and I acted to the lord's satisfaction exceedingly, more than any thing. I brought two chieftains of the foreign countries to the residence in peace, and live oxen and goats entered with them to the residence together with the chieftains' children and troops commanders, who were with them, as the custom of the chiefs of the south, being vigilant in doing what my lord likes»⁽¹⁾.

From these inscriptions, it is clear that Pepinakht-Heqaib played quite an important role in the relationship between Egypt and Nubia. From some of his titles, we may deduct that he undoubtedly lived at the end of the Old Kingdom, when some features of the decline in the Egyptian power were quite evident. But he seems to have had an outstanding career, he was able to punish Wawat and Irthet by devastating their lands and was later successful in pacifying the tribes there, having brought their chieftains to the residence. This man was liable to be the one who was deified later and for whom a temple was erected on Elephantine.

DISCOVERY OF A CHAPEL ATTACHED TO THE TOMB OF PEPINAKHT-HEQAIB.

With this idea in mind, I went in 1947 to the cemetery of Qubbet el-Hawa. There I noticed a half-buried hall to the north of the tomb of Pepinakht-Heqaib (above staircase in Pl. I A). Since the entrance was wholly blocked with sand, this hall being carved much lower than the tomb, I was able to enter it only through a hole in the tomb. There I noticed that a certain part of its walls was carved with scenes, which have never been noticed before. This being the case, it was important to clear the hall and its entrance (middle in Pl. I A) to find out if it had any relation with the owner of the tomb.

⁽¹⁾ For the part translated here, see *ibid.*, p. 133 L. 10 - 134 L. 12.

To achieve that it was necessary to remove all the sand blocking the entrance and then proceed to the hall itself. This work lasted nearly 10 weeks in 1947 and 1948, ending, not only in the clearance of the hall, but also with the discovery of an important tomb to the north of the hall. The following is a brief account of the discoveries and a description of some scenes.

The façade of the hall proved to be preceded by two columns carved in the rock, narrowing much towards the top; these may have been connected with the walls on the sides by an architrave. Although the façade itself was left undecorated, there were scenes carved on the sides of the entrance and on the walls inside. On the sides of the entrance there were big representation of Pepinakht-Heqaib, opposite whom some people were shown offering or officiating. Most of these are styled: «*Controllers of the Hall*». There are two registers on the southern side, the upper one showing Heqaib with three lines and a column of inscription in front, all giving some of his titles. On the northern one three registers are seen, the upper one with a man called Ninubt, described as: «*His son, his beloved, the chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, ... venerated through the great god, Ninubet*» (fig. 1). It is to be noted that the lower register on both sides is of much inferior standard of art, representing at least ten people offering or officiating. These scenes must have been carved some time after the erection and decoration of the hall. The same impression one can get again, seeing most of the representation on the walls inside. There it can be observed that the standard of art is varying, showing that such representations seem to have been carved over a relatively long period.

Inside are carved several shafts, a false door above one of them. Upon examination of such shafts, nothing was found to point to those who were once buried inside; undoubtedly some of the people whose names were found inscribed in the hall were among those buried there, such as Ninubet, shown facing Heqaib, his father on the northern side of the entrance.

More important is that which was found in the courtyard preceding the façade of the hall. There the whole area was honeycombed with tombs, which seem, according to their contents, to date from the end

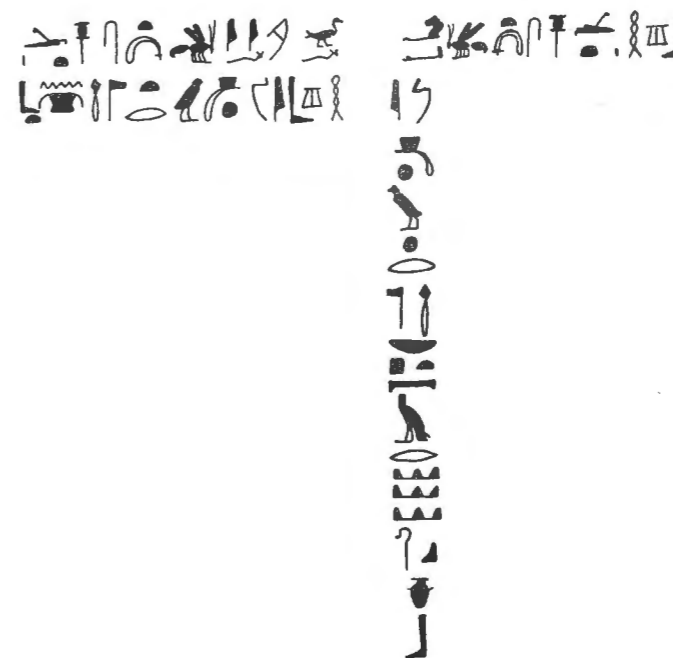


Fig. 1.

of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period. Most of these tombs were found intact, containing stone vessels, and pots, some inscribed with either the names of the owners or with those of the materials inside, as those excavated by Prof. Edel in the other tombs of the same period in Qubbet el-Hawa.

This being the case, it may be asked if Pepinakht-Heqaib, for whom the tomb and the newly-discovered hall were carved, is the same as Heqaib in whose honour the temple of Elephantine was erected? We have seen how in the newly-discovered hall the man was honoured after his death and had numerous people officiating for him or making offerings to him. Again the presence of a large number of tombs carved in the courtyard preceding his tomb, shows that the owners were keen to have their tombs near to the man's resting-place, undoubtedly believing of his sanctity.

In the Temple of Heqaib, he is almost always referred to simply as: *rp' Hkib*, or «The hereditary prince, Heqaib». But on the façade of

the shrine erected by Sirenpowet I, he is given the following titles : «The hereditary prince and governor, the chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt and the sole friend, the lector-priest and overseer of the foreign countries, the chief of the Egyptianized foreigners the one over the secrets of the head of U. E.»⁽¹⁾,



Fig. 2.

Heqaib, the blessed» (fig. 2). All these titles without exception were given to Pepinakht-Heqaib in his tomb and hall. In addition, on an offering table discovered in the temple, the owner is styled *ihwti Hkib*, or «the warrior Heqaib», thus pointing to his military career; a fact which is quite clear in the biographical inscription in the tomb. All these points indicate the identity of Heqaib owner of the temple with that of the tomb and the hall. We have still one more evidence of the same fact in the tomb which was carved by Sabni in the north of the hall.

TOMB OF SABNI, SON OR FATHER OF THE DEIFIED HEQAIB.

This tomb opens in the north side of the hall of Heqaib, but its main entrance is from the courtyard of that hall. On the façade of that entrance and on the walls inside are representations of the owner, with several people officiating or offering. Inside he is represented inspecting his cattle, where a bull is shown knocking another down. In other scenes, he is accompanied by members of his family, where he is seen fishing in one and hunting in the other. But the most important scenes are found on the sides of the main entrance. That carved on the eastern side shows him standing with three men and a woman in front; these being represented on different levels. But behind him are three registers of people, most of them described as «*Controllers of the Hall*». Two persons, shown behind him in the lower register, seem to be of particular

⁽¹⁾ For a discussion about this title, see below, p. 25 f.

importance. One is «*the physician of the Palace, Idu*»⁽¹⁾, while the second is «*His daughter, his beloved, the respectable of the king, Merti*» (fig. 3).

The presence of the former person shows that Sabni held such a high consideration by the king that he sent him a physician of the residence to take care of him. The latter shows again how one of the



Fig. 3.

members of his family has been favoured by the king to be given such an honorary title as «*The respectable of the king*». But her presence with him may remind us of a scene on the northern side of the shrine of Heqaib erected by Sirenput on Elephantine.

There Heqaib is shown with Sabni in front of him, and Merti behind, both on a smaller scale than him (fig. 4). Above Heqaib is the inscription : «*May the king give offering (to) Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos [2] in all his places, a good burial in his tomb of (his own body) [3] in the ka-chapel for him there, (namely) an invocation of offerings, formed of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster vases and clothes [4] and all good and pure things on which a god lives there to the ka of the hereditary prince, Heqaib, the blessed*».

⁽¹⁾ For this man, see Labib HABACHI - Paul GHALIOUNGUI, «Notes on Nine of Pharaonic Egypt, of whom Five Hitherto Unknown», in *Bul. de l'Institut d'Egypte*, vol. LI, Season 1969-1970, pp. 15 ff., cf. 19 f. and fig. 4.



Fig. 4.

Above Sabni is the inscription : «His son, his beloved, the governor and the chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend [2] and the chief-lector-priest, the overseer of every foreign country, [3] Sabni, the blessed,

master of veneration». Above Merti is read : «His wife, his beloved, the place of his affection, the priestess of [2] Hathor, Merti, mistress of veneration».

Here Merti is described as wife of Heqaib or Sabni's mother, while her namesake in the tomb of Sabni is described as the latter's daughter. But it may be noted that her figure, title and name replaced earlier ones, perhaps those of a daughter, while the words «his daughter, his beloved» were untouched. Thus it may have represented the same Merti, mother of Sabni, or his daughter who became Heqaib's wife shown in his shrine.

Now Sabni is given here a few epithets and titles, owing to the limitation of space given to him in the whole scene. Some of these we shall meet in the inscriptions, which we shall study in the next paragraph, the rest and many more in the various parts of the tomb. There is no doubt therefore that Sabni shown in the temple is the same as the one buried in Qubbet el-Hawa or his father, whose grandson was called after him. With this fact established and with the biographical inscription of the façade of the tomb of Pepinakht-Heqaib, together with those in the newly-discovered hall and the tombs in its courtyard, the identity of this last-mentioned person with the deified Heqaib becomes a firmly established fact.

SABNI BUILDS BARGES IN WAWAT FOR THE TRANSPORT OF TWO OBELISKS TO HELIOPOLIS.

On the other side of the entrance is another scene of equal size, but so important that it is worth recording as a whole. Here Sabni is shown in high relief with fine details, wearing a wig, a collar with several rows, a skirt, holding a stick in one hand, a *hrp*-scepter in the other. In front of him are shown three men bringing offerings, each described as : «Controller of the Hall», undoubtedly referring to his «chapel». Behind him are three registers, each representing five persons of various professions, such as : «Controller of the Hall», «Scribe», «Overseer of Linen», and «Stone-mason».

Above him is a line of inscription reading : «The governor and chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend and the overseer of the Egyptianised foreigners, who is over the secrets of the Gate of Upper Egypt,

Sabni. Below this line of inscription is a second one, enumerating the usual traditional phrases, which the nobles of the Old Kingdom were keen to attribute to themselves, showing their benevolence. These read : «*I have given bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked and I ferried the boatless in my boats, never I took the things of any man, and never I desired (to take) from any person his own property*»⁽¹⁾. In front of Sabni is a column of inscription reading : «*The chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, and the venerated through the great god, lord of heaven, Sabni*».

On the top of the whole scene is an inscription, which, since its discovery, has not failed to attract the attention of Egyptologists on account of two words in it, which have been the subject of discussion by some scholars. Other scholars, at the same time, were interested in the phrases mentioning the building of barges for the transport of two big obelisks. The whole inscription reads : «*The governor and the sole friend, who repeats the speech of Horus to his follower(s), who puts the fear (?) of Horus in the foreign countries (a). The majesty of (my) lord sent (me) to make two big barges [2] in Wawat to navigate two big obelisks north to Heliopolis (b). I went forth to Wawat with regiments of five soldiers (c), the Egyptianized foreigners whom I pacified were on the West and East of Wawat, so as to bring the regiments of soldiers [3] in peace. A sandal (d) or a loaf belonging to me was never allowed to be taken away. I made these two barges so that the majesty of (my) lord praises me for it; I being an excellent soul, who knows to speak properly (e). I know the spell of the ascension to the great god, lord of heaven (f)*». (Pl. I B and fig. 5).

(a) *Whm mdw n Hr n šms(w).f, rd (?) mit Hr m h;swt*. There is no difficulty in rendering the first epithet as : «He who repeats the speech of Horus (i.e. the king) to his followers (i.e. the righteous people, FAULKNER, *Concise*

⁽¹⁾ For examples of such sentences, see Jozef JANSSEN, *De Traditioneele Egyptische Autobiographie voor het Nieuwe Rijk* (1946) *rdi t; n hkr hbs n h;y*, under *rdi* see p. 78 : 15-28. For *iw d;i.n.i n i'* ..., see under *d;i*, p. 120, 1-9. For *n sp iti ht nt rmtw nb*, see under *n sp*, p. 163, 44, 45. *N sp s;r.i rmt nb hr istw*, is not found in these sentences, but it can be said that *s;r*, meaning «need» *istw*, meaning «possessions», would lead us to translate the whole phrase as : Never I desire (in the meaning of deprive) any persons' possessions.



Fig. 5.

Dictionary, 267). The second epithet is rather strange, and quite unusual. In his unpublished dissertation, Dissouky takes the first signs as reading 'myt, meaning «the lower jaw», giving the meaning of the whole phrase as «the lower jaw (or the one who speaks on behalf) of Horus in the foreign countries» (p. 163 in the xerox copy of the dissertation). But such an epithet would be a repetition of the previous one. But taking the phrase as meaning «who gives the terror of Horus in the foreign countries», the whole sentence would mean: The one who repeats the speech of the king to his followers, and who gives the terror of the king in the foreign countries», which fits with his epithets on the façade of the tomb: *Whm mdw Hr rdw nrw m h'swt n nb.f Hr* (*Ibid.* p. 162).

(b) *Jw hb.n.(i) hm n nbi.(i)* . . . this being the most important part of the inscription, it will be dealt with below.

(c) *'Iw pr.k(wi) shtp(w).n.(i) hr imntt i:bt nt W:w't r int 1st n ms't m htp.* This sentence was also the subject of discussion among scholars; due to the difference in opinion over the meaning of *i:(ww)*, as well as that of *shtp* in this sentence. This we shall deal with again in the next paragraph. It is worth mentioning here how the word *ms'* is followed by the feminine *t*. This may be taken to stand for the army and not for the soldiers.

(d) *N sp di iti ibt p't nt.i.* Here Sabni boasts that not one single sandal or loaf was taken away from him. The fact that important people were concerned with the manufacture of sandals indicates that these were much in demand.

(e) *'Ink 3h ikrt rh r:f iw rh r' n i' n ntr '3 nb pt.* Here Sabni boasts that he knows how to speak wisely; Herkhuf, in one of his inscriptions says: *'Ink 3h ikr 'pr hry-hb rh r:f* (*Urk.*, I, p. 122 : 13) «I, being a welcome excellent spirit (*Wb.*, I, 180 : 11), and lector-priest who knows how to speak the right thing» (*Wb.*, II, 443 : 23).

(f) Again, at the end of the sentence, Sabni speaks of knowing the spell of the ascension to the great god, lord of heaven. For *i' n ntr nfr*, which is found often on stelae of the VIth Dynasty, see DRIOTON in *ASAE*, 43, 1943, p. 499, also CLÈRE-VANDIER, *Bibl. Ægyptiaca*, t. C, p. 16B L.3 (XIth Dynasty). I owe these two references to Grdsloff. It is noteworthy that in this sentence we have the word *rh* reversed and together with *r:* repeated with different meanings.

SABNI, AND HIS FATHER, THE DEIFIED HEQAIB, AND THEIR RELATIONSHIPS WITH NUBIA.

Nothing is known about the relationships of Sabni with Nubia except that he was charged by his sovereign to go to Wawat to build two large barges. The autobiographical inscription of Uni, states that king Merenre sent him to Wawat to build three barges and four transport ships of acacia wood⁽¹⁾. To sail these downstream, Uni was obliged to dig five canals through the First Cataract. One or more of these canals seems to have been used in navigating the two large barges of Sabni downstream from Wawat to Aswan. Sesostris III, and later Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis III dug canals, or at least deepened some of Uni's canals to make the navigation of the First Cataract possible⁽²⁾. Forests undoubtedly existed in Wawat. Even in the last century such forests were still flourishing there. How and when they disappeared is unknown. It may be surmised that with all the heavy monuments in quartzite and granite taken from the quarries of Aswan, these forests were used up in the building of barges and ships necessary for such transport. It is true that the Ancient Egyptians imported wood of superior quality from Lebanon, but it was most likely that wood of such quality was used for better purposes. Wawat was nearer, providing cheaper supply of wood. The building of barges did not require wood of superior quality⁽³⁾.

That Sabni succeeded in building the two large barges seems almost certain or he would not have boasted of having achieved that. This

⁽¹⁾ T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 1941, p. 24, 75, 151 and 153.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, 24 ff. It is spoken also of ships made in Wawat in the time of Tuthmosis III, p. 219.

⁽³⁾ In transporting the two obelisks of Hatshepsut to be erected in the 15th year of her reign, 30 ships and two big barges were needed, see Ed. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari* 6, Excavation Memoir 29, 1908, pp. 2 ff. and pls. 103-106. According to Chevrier, it would have been difficult for making all these ships in Lebanon, apart from the expenses to do them there. It is true that we have no records of wood being taken from Nubia, but such kind of material was sometimes enumerated among the list of the tribute of Nubia in the time of Amenophis II. See SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

feat, as stated in the inscription, earned him the praise of the king. The mention of the two big obelisks in the inscription of Sabni is without doubt the most important part of it, since that kind of monument was first known to have been erected only in the reign of Sesostris I. This is the reason why the text was partially studied by Karl Martin⁽¹⁾ and wholly quoted by Khalid Taha El-Dissouky⁽²⁾.

But were the obelisks mentioned in our inscription the earliest of their kind? In his article on «Les premiers obélisques à propos d'un texte de Pliny l'Ancien» R. Father Michel Gitton tried to show, according to Pliny who stated that the earliest obelisks were erected under Zammare-Raphios, that our inscription proves the truth of his statement. Therefore he assumed that Sabni lived under that king whom he identified with Pepi I. In his study, he referred to Sabni, Mekhu's son, who went to Wawat to bring back the body of his father who had died there⁽³⁾. He was unaware that Sabni, in whose tomb the inscription about the obelisks were engraved was not Mekhu's son, but Heqaib's son or father who lived during the reign of Pepi II. It may be that other obelisks were erected during the reign of Pepi I, even one obelisk discovered recently in Heliopolis proved to be of King Teti⁽⁴⁾. But our inscription does not refer to these, but to later ones⁽⁵⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Ein Garantsymbol des Lebens*, 1977, p. 30.

⁽²⁾ We had the opportunity to discuss with him his dissertation on Elephantine, especially on the inscription of Sabni, which he quoted in full p. 162 (Discussed in Chicago on June 1969, but not yet published).

⁽³⁾ *BIFAO* 75, 1975, pp. 97 ff. In speaking of the text of obelisks in our inscription, *op. cit.*, p. 98 footnote 3, he refers to E. EDEL, *Felsengraeber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan*, II/2 which deals with the tomb of Sabni, Mekhu's son, who is different from his namesake in whose time the obelisks were erected.

⁽⁴⁾ In the Pyramid Texts of that king, mention is given of *Tḥnwi n R'*, which was translated as «Pillars of Re», since obelisks were not thought to have been erected so early. But, with the discovery of the inscription of Sabni of the reign of Pepi II, and the obelisk of Teti at Heliopolis, it can be taken as meaning «Obelisks of Re», see Labib HABACHI, *Obelisks of Egypt*, 1977, p. 40 f.

⁽⁵⁾ See also Karl MARTIN, *op. cit.*, p. 32 f. and footnote 1 on p. 33, he shows also that the conclusions of Gitton are not true.

Another sentence proved of interest in the Sabni inscription. It reads 'Iw iꜥ(wv) shtp.n.(i) ... The word iꜥ(wv) occurring in the title iꜥ(wv) has first been studied by Gardiner more than sixty years ago where he gives it the meaning of «dragoman» or «interpreter»⁽¹⁾. Hans Goedicke was the first recently to open a discussion about its meaning which differed from Gardiner's interpretation; he took it to stand for «foreigner»⁽²⁾. In his monograph on *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome*, Henry G. Fischer discussed the title on the occasion of its occurrence on a stela in the Cairo Museum. He takes the word to mean foreigners who were employed «not only as interpreters, but as scouts, spies, agents, courriers and foremen». He translates the sentence in Sabni's inscription as: «The scout(s) whom I pacified were on the West»⁽³⁾. Goedicke was not satisfied and in a brief communication entitled «An additional note on 'foreigner'», he insisted the word again as «foreigner», translating the same sentence in our inscription as: «The foreigners were disposed towards (me) on the West ...»⁽⁴⁾.

Lanny Bell chose as the subject of his dissertation *Interpreters and Egyptianized Nubians in Ancient Egypt and Nubia*. There he passed in review all references to this word and its derivatives and any other word of similar formation, analysing and studying each throughout the different periods. From his exhaustive study he came to the conclusion that when the word is applied to Egyptians it means «interpreter», and when applied to foreigners it designates Egyptianized

⁽¹⁾ *PSBA*, 37, 1915, pp. 117 ff.

⁽²⁾ Goedicke added more examples of the occurrence of the title. At the end of his study, he says: «There is no indication that this title means 'interpreter' or 'dragoman'. The officials who were called *imy-r-* were the commanders of mercenary troops whose existence in the Old Kingdom is well attested from other sources» (*JEA*, 46, 1960, pp. 60 ff., cf. p. 64).

⁽³⁾ 1964, pp. 28 ff., cf. p. 30. Yoyotte, in a review of the book of Fischer, discusses the meaning of the title. There he prefers to take the holders as: «diplomates et agents commerciaux ... ils sont guerriers au besoin pour répandre la terreur d'Horus dans les contrées étrangères ...», *Orientalia*, 35, 1966, p. 53.

⁽⁴⁾ *JEA*, 52, 1966, pp. 172 ff., cf. p. 174.

foreigners⁽¹⁾. As evidence he quotes our phrase occurring in Sabni's inscription⁽²⁾.

Another word in the same phrase which was also the cause of much argument is the word *shtp* usually meaning «to pacify». The last scholar to take it up was Gerald Kadish in a study on «Old Kingdom Activity in Nubia, Some Reconsiderations»⁽³⁾. There he gave many examples of the occurrence of the word in the autobiographical inscriptions of the nobles of Aswan. The word was used in the inscription of Sabni, Mekhu's son, when he went to Nubia to bring back the body of his father. Although a large part of the text is missing, we still learn that he took with him one hundred asses laden with oil, honey, and other stuff. Kadish argues that it is improbable that Sabni was on a trading mission⁽⁴⁾. But considering his situation, it is plain that it was not on a military expedition either and that most probably he carried such goods with him in order to exchange them for the material necessary for the mummification of his father's body or rather to present it to his sovereign.

The main point, however, Kadish wishes to point out, is how Har-Khuf on his third trip to Yam was able to convince its ruler, by force or by threat, to stop his attacks on the land of Tjemeh⁽⁵⁾. Nothing in the text points clearly to anything of this sort. More likely, it was the power of Egypt which was quite prevalent all over the neighbouring lands which made the ruler of Yam change his mind. That ruler, seeing that the Egyptian noble was opposed to the idea of such attacks, was happy to adopt a peaceful policy with regard to his neighbours.

In our inscription of Sabni, it is stated that «the Egyptianized foreigners pacified those on the West and East for me ...». Thus Sabni does not boast of having achieved this himself, but his men. These people were familiar with their countrymen, and were able to assure them of

⁽¹⁾ 1976. For the conclusions he came by, see Paragraphs 77, 78.

⁽²⁾ For this, see p. 58 (paragraph 56 v).

⁽³⁾ *JEA*, 52, 1966, pp. 23 ff., cf. pp. 29 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ *Urk.* I, 136, 13.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, 126 : 10-11.

the peaceful trip Sabni was liable to accomplish. Still Sabni was accompanied by soldiers, that they may be helpful in case of any hostilities; these may have also helped him in achieving the aim for which he went to Wawat. Sabni seems not to have been of military career, and the only relation hitherto known of him with Nubia, is that he was entrusted with building the two large barges for the transport of the big obelisks.

Heqaib, on the contrary, had a military career, and his relationship with Nubia was more closer. This was made clear by his identification with the owner of the tomb and newly discovered hall in Qubbet el-Hawa. This man proved to be a great warrior and a wise politician, to the extent that he established the dignity of Egypt all over that area, perhaps many years after his death. As a hero in that domain he served as fine example to all those who were later to go during the Middle Kingdom to the South.

CHAPTER III

THE GRAFFITI AND WORK OF THE VICEROYS OF KUSH IN THE REGION OF ASWAN

ASWAN has always been the link between Egypt and the Sudan and people going to and coming from the South have customarily stopped there before and after passing through the relatively unpopulated land of Nubia. It was natural then that the viceroys of Kush should stop there when going to assume their functions and when returning to their country. The district under their control varied from time to time⁽¹⁾, but in all periods in which viceroys supervised Nubia, the region of Aswan was among the most important parts of the district, if not the most important of all. This may be the reason why, in contrast to the situation during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the nome of Aswan during the New Kingdom had no governors of its own⁽²⁾. Viceroys came usually from far-away places such as Thebes and Bubastis, and there they provided their burials⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Aegypten und Nubien*, pp. 177 ff., also DRIOTON and VANDIER, *L'Égypte*, 3rd ed., p. 464.

⁽²⁾ In Qubbet El-Hawa, where the nobles of Aswan were buried, most of the tombs date back to the Old Kingdom, four belong to the Middle Kingdom and only one (the so-called Lady Cecil Tomb) is to be attributed to the New Kingdom. But this latter tomb is that of a chief priest. The rock inscriptions of Aswan mention sometimes nomarchs of Elephantine (cf. DE MORGAN, *Cat. des mon. et inscr.* I, 88; 62), but they had no great power and must have been subordinate to the viceroys. Sometimes the power of the viceroy extended to Hieraconpolis, but Aswan must always have been included in the district controlled by the viceroy.

⁽³⁾ The tombs of Hori I and Hori II are in Bubastis; Mermose, Setau, Amen-hotep-Huy, and most probably Nehi and Sen were buried in Thebes, while Panechesi's tomb is at Aniba, (see below p. 111 f.).

The viceroys of Kush are likely to have stayed in Aswan in most cases longer than anywhere else in the district. In their capacity as representatives of the king, they had to supervise all work done anywhere in their domain and to assure the delivery of tribute. Buildings, whether civil, military or religious, were erected under their supervision. In one of the graffiti on Sehel, the viceroy is followed by the chief of works who is shown on smaller scale⁽¹⁾. It is known that Setau built the temple of Gerf Husein, and it is quite probable that he supervised personally that of Es-Sebua⁽²⁾. We shall show in a subsequent work that Pesiur II was responsible for building the Great Temple of Re-Harakhti at Abu Simbel.

Military operations were directed at least with the approval of the viceroys, since they are sometimes shown in the presence of the king smiting his enemies (nos. 20-23 below), and they sometimes bore military titles⁽³⁾. Hence they probably stayed in Aswan for considerable periods to supervise the work of strategic, civil and religious importance required in that region.

On their visits to Aswan some of the viceroys desired to leave some memorial of themselves and the surface of the granite cliffs all about the area made easy the realization of their desires. It is not strange then that we find in the region more of their inscriptions than can be found anywhere else, and we find them in the places where most of the rock inscriptions of Aswan are found, namely on Sehel, opposite Elephantine, and on the road leading from Aswan to Konosso. There must have been reasons governing the choice of one place rather than another. For example, when the road between Aswan and Konosso was chosen, it was probably because the viceroys passed along that

⁽¹⁾ See below graffito no. 10 (for their work, see SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *op. cit.*, pp. 180 ff. and DRIOTON and VANDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 466 ff.).

⁽²⁾ For the work of Setau in Gerf Husein, see PORTER-MOSS, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, VII, 33. The same viceroy left many inscriptions in Es-Sebua Temple and officials dedicated stelae near to him, thus showing that he was much concerned with this temple, *ibid.* pp. 55, 57 and 63.

⁽³⁾ SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

road, most likely when going south with an army. Along this road, unlike other areas with rock inscriptions, we find many scenes concerned with battles⁽¹⁾. On the other hand the men who carved their inscriptions opposite Elephantine did so mostly because they took part in building one or another of the temples on the Island. The same may be said of Sehel, where the viceroys passed by the shrine of Anukis and sometimes added to it. But most of the inscriptions were placed there in the intervals which the viceroys had to spend waiting for a favourable time in which to pass through the turbulent waters of the First Cataract.

Whether they are on Sehel, opposite Elephantine, or on the road from Aswan to Philae, we find that these graffiti usually exhibit only the figure of the viceroy, but in a few cases he is accompanied by one of his officials and has a few lines of text in front of him. From the time of Amenophis III onwards usually the cartouches of the reigning king and sometimes his figure are shown opposite the viceroy. Rarely are any divinities pictured as they commonly are in the inscriptions of other functionaries. Only in two instances do we find a viceroy in the presence of local divinities (nos. 19 and 30 below). In a third case the deity of the home town of the viceroy is shown (no. 37 below) and that was for a particular reason, which we shall try to trace below. In two of these three cases do we find the viceroy accompanied by a member of his family (nos. 30 and 37 below)⁽²⁾. The viceregal visits to the region were considered strictly official.

Many of the inscriptions of these viceroys have already been published by travellers and scholars of the first half of the last century. Most of them were reproduced by Petrie in his book, *A Season in Egypt* (1887), and almost all were published by De Morgan and his assistants in their

⁽¹⁾ About midway between Aswan and the modern Dam colony, there is a group of large stelae carved on the rocks. These tell of wars waged in the South by Tuthmosis II, Amenophis III and Ramesses II, see PORTER-MOSS, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, V, 245. In Konosso, which seems to mark the end of this road, there are more rock inscriptions of this nature. These latter show Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis III, see *ibid.*, p. 254.

⁽²⁾ In two cases the viceroy is shown with an official (nos. 11, 19) in another with his son (no. 37) and in a fourth (no. 30) with his wife.

Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions, vol. I (1894). The first study of the viceroys of Kush was made by Reisner in an article entitled «The Viceroys of Ethiopia» in *JEA*, VI, pp. 28 ff. and 73 ff. In this article he gave a list of the viceroys with their titles as they occur in their inscriptions at various places. He also studied the development of their titles and their dress and gave a list of the employees who helped them in their domain. Gauthier later published a long article called «Les vicerois d'Ethiopie» in *RT*, XXXIX, pp. 182 ff., in which he commented on what Reisner had said and added some more inscriptions. Viceroys have not been treated as a whole elsewhere except by Säve-Söderbergh in his interesting work, *Ägypten u. Nubien*, pp. 175 ff. (1). Here the list of the viceroys of Kush was brought up to date, but the main interest of the study lies in the fact that rights and duties of these high officials and those under their power are discussed.

During my work in Aswan I had the opportunity to examine the graffiti of the viceroys in the region. I noticed then that some were not properly published, a few of these had not been attributed to the proper authors and others had not been correctly dated. Two other graffiti proved not to have been published at all; one of them was covered by the waters of the Nile for a part of the year (no. 16 below), while the other was hidden under earth (no. 33). It must be remembered that the graffiti at Aswan are not always easy to read, for they are for the most part faintly carved on the rather rough surface of the cliffs.

In Kush, the most recently initiated periodical dealing with archæology, we shall pass in review very briefly all the graffiti of the viceroys of Kush in the Aswan district (references to these are to be found in PORTER-MOSS, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, V, 245 ff.), treating in detail those inadequately published and those as yet unpublished. In doing so, we shall try to show, somewhat briefly, the work done by these officials in the region. Throughout this article we shall refer when necessary

(1) In Amara there were found important inscriptions of some viceroys, but these have not yet been published, although photographs of some of them and references to others are given by Fairman in *JEA*, 25, p. 143 and pls. XV, 2; XVI, 1.

to the above-mentioned books of Petrie, De Morgan, Reisner, Gauthier, Säve-Söderbergh and Porter-Moss by the name of the author and the page number.

Thure, perhaps the first man to be appointed viceroy of Kush, served Tuthmosis I and left in the Aswan district two rock inscriptions, both



Fig. 6. — Inscr. 1.

on Sehel Island. The first (fig. 6 here given = no. 1 = Reisner 1e; De Morgan, 85, 19; *Urk.* IV, 89 : (34) B; Porter-Moss, 250), speaks of :

1. *The third year, first month of Shemu day 22, navigation of His Majesty on this Canal, in power and strength, upon his return from overthrowing the vile Kush. Underneath is : The viceroy, Thure.*
2. The second inscription (no. 2 = Reisner, 29, 1e; De Morgan 85, 13; *Urk.*, IV, 89-90 (34) C; Porter-Moss, 250), speaks also of the clearance of the above-mentioned canal.

That these inscriptions and others mentioning canals are carved on the eastern side of Sehel shows that these canals were dug nearby. Thure, in his capacity of viceroy, must have supervised in the reign of Tuthmosis I the clearance of a canal and perhaps have arranged for the campaign mentioned in the two graffiti.



Fig. 7. — Inscr. 3.

The next viceroy we meet in the region is Nehi, who lived under Tuthmosis III. He left in the district one single inscription, which has not been properly published. It is on Sehel (fig. 7, here given no. 3 = De Morgan, 89, 65; Reisner, 31, 3k; Porter-Moss, 251) and shows the figures of two men one above the other. The upper man (3a) has his arms at his side. In front of him is an inscription of two vertical lines reading :

3a. *The lector-priest of Amun in (The Temple of) «Gifted-with-life», Nakht-[amen], son of the viceroy, Nehi* ⁽¹⁾.

The lower figure wears a short kilt, and has the arms lifted in adoration.

In front of it there is an inscription formed of a vertical line continued in a horizontal one which reads :

3b. *The king's acquaintance, the praised of the great (?) god, the viceroy, Nehi.*

The only reproduction of this graffito is to be found in De Morgan, 89, 65. The upper inscription is copied there in hieroglyphs as :

Hry-hb n 'Imn m dwt 'nh nbt pr ... nht s' nsw Nhi

while the lower one is rendered as :

Rh-nsw hs ntr-t sw Nhi.

⁽¹⁾ It is to be noted that among the titles borne by Nehi, that of lector-priest of Amun also appears (Gauthier, 191).

Reisner, *op. cit.*, depending on this copy says about it : «Nearly illegible inscriptions beginning 'lector of Amun' and ending 'king's son'». He continues : «Below is a smaller figure with 'Nehi' above it, but I am unable to make out the connection». But it is clear that the lower figure is that of the viceroy Nehi and the upper one that of his son Nakht-[amen]. It is only strange that the former viceroy should be shown on a lower level and lifting his arms in adoration. Perhaps this was due merely to the fact that the surface of the stone was not quite suitable for engraving his figure opposite that of his son and that he was shown with uplifted arms because he was facing the chapel of Anukis.

The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it gives us for the first time the name of a son of the viceroy. This son is shown here to have been attached to the Funerary Temple of Tuthmosis III. Ricke studied this temple and gave a list of the officials and priests attached to it ⁽¹⁾. It seems that he, Nakht[amen] and not his father, was responsible for engraving this graffito; perhaps he was supervising the extraction of granite from this island for the temple in which he officiated.

Nehi was most probably followed by Usersatet, who is believed to have served during the whole reign of Amenophis II and a part of the reign of Tuthmosis IV. One graffito only has previously been attributed to him in the whole region of Aswan ⁽²⁾, but we can now add seven more, which have already been published, but so inaccurately that they have never been recognized as Usersatet's. The only hitherto known inscription of this viceroy (fig. 8, here given no. 4 = LD, Text IV, 126 (23);

⁽¹⁾ *Beitrage zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, Heft 3, opposite p. 38. For Nakhtamen and his inscription on Sehel, which we pointed out to the author, see Addendum to p. 38.

⁽²⁾ Gauthier asks if the graffito copied by Mariette (*Mon. divers.* pl. 71, 25) is different from the hitherto known one published under no. 5, but it seems that it is the same.

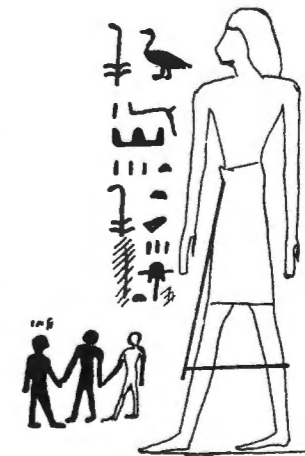


Fig. 8. — Inscr. 4.

De Morgan, 86, 28; Reisner, 32, 4b; Gauthier, 192) is carved on the highest boulder on the western side of Bibitagoug on Sehel. From the photograph it can be seen how the figure of the viceroy together with the accompanying inscription have been partly erased, (*Kush* V, pl. V 4 opposite p. 24).

The viceroy is shown standing with his arms at his sides and clad in a skirt shown by a thin line, and which reaches midway between the knees and the ankles. An attempt was made to erase the face of the figure and the inscription in front of it, but this was done in such a way as to leave them still visible. The inscription, in a single vertical line, reads :

4. *The viceroy, the overseer of the Southern Lands, Usersatet.*

Helck is the latest scholar to have dealt with the inscriptions and objects left by this viceroy, when he published the stela found in 1924 by the Harvard Expedition in Semneh (now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, No. 25632). Helck pointed out that the man had been the object of persecution, although he could not determine why or when in his career the persecution occurred⁽¹⁾. When we began to study the graffiti of the Aswan district, some ten years ago, we were aware of this fact, although we also failed to discover why and when Usersatet fell into

such disgrace that his name, titles and figure were everywhere totally or partially erased. Fortunately in many cases sufficient traces were left to make the reading of them certain or highly probable.

On the same side of the cliffs of Sehel on which the only hitherto known inscription of the viceroy is engraved, five other graffiti were carved by the viceroy or one of his subordinates.

One of these inscriptions (no. 5, fig. 9 = De Morgan, 91, 106) shows

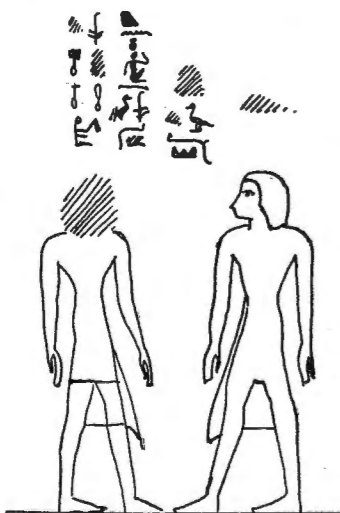


Fig. 9. — Inscr. 5.

⁽¹⁾ *JNES*, XIV, pp. 22 ff.; for his monuments see p. 29.

two standing men facing each other. The attitude and dress are exactly the same as in the previously described graffito. Reisner speaking of «the staff of officials attached to the viceroy» lists our graffito among the less definite references, and describes it as having «the deputy of . . . Sennufer», facing another man labelled «. . . king's son», overseer of the Southern Lands' (p. 85). This remark is true as far as the latter label is concerned, for a few signs at the beginning and end have been completely erased. As for the first label, we have more of the surviving signs and they permit us to identify one of the two persons depicted in the graffito. De Morgan's copy, on which Reisner depended, gives : —

'Idnw n . . . Snnfr

but sufficient traces still can be seen of the following words :

5. *'Idnw n s; nsw imy-r hswt rsy Wsrstt, Snnfr,*
The deputy of the viceroy, and the overseer of the Southern Lands
Usersatet, Sennufer.

Thus the figure to the left stands for a deputy of Usersatet called Sennufer, and the one to the right could also be that of another subordinate of the viceroy, since he is shown on the same scale and since the accompanying inscription seems also to have room showing the relation of the man to the viceroy as in the opposite one.

A second graffito nearby (here given no. 6 = De Morgan, 92, 112; Gauthier, 232) shows a standing man facing left (fig. 10) with his arms at his sides and with a knee-length kilt. In front of him is an inscription in a vertical line continued in a horizontal line which once gave the author's name, but which was totally erased. It reads :

6. *Kdhw n s; nsw, Wsr(s)tt, . . .*
The charioteer of the viceroy, User(sa)tet, . . .



Fig. 10. — Inscr. 6.

Reisner (86, 14), depending on the copy of De Morgan, who omitted the name of the viceroy, could not attribute the charioteer to the vicerealty of Usersatet.



Fig. 11. — Inscr. 7.

A third graffito (here fig. 11, given no. 7 = De Morgan, 91, 100) shows a man dressed in a similar kilt bearing a stick in his left hand. In front of him an inscription of two vertical lines running retrograde reads :

7. *May the King give offerings (to) Anukis, mistress of Sehel, (namely) to the ka of [the king's son], the brave [of the king] ... [User] satet* ⁽¹⁾.

Sufficient traces of the name and one of the epithets of the viceroy still remain to make our identification certain.

A fourth graffito (no. 8 = De Morgan, 92, 116) shows a standing man in the same attitude and dress as in graffiti nos. 4, 5 and 6; of an inscription of two lines, only the following signs are visible :

8. ... *K3.sn ... imy-r h3swt rsy ...*
... their «kas» ..., the overseer of the Southern Lands, ...

Nothing is left of the other titles or the name of the author, but the facts that these were erased and that the accompanying figure resembles that in the other graffiti of Usersatet, show that it was he who was also responsible for carving this graffito.

The same may be said about a fifth graffito nearby (given no. 9 here = De Morgan, 91, 103). Here we find the figure of a man with uplifted arms, but with a kilt somewhat similar to the one in which

⁽¹⁾ Almost all of the second line is unclear in De Morgan's copy.

Usersatet is usually shown. Opposite him is a cartouche with two feathers above it, a bow and the *nb*-sign underneath. The cartouche reads : *Okheper(w)re*, the prenomen of Amenophis II. Between the figure and the cartouche there is a vertical line reading :

9. *The one concerned with the booty, the brave in the vile Kush ...*

These two epithets of the author are known to have been borne by Usersatet. Though his name is totally erased, the facts that the man is shown in front of the cartouche of the king whom Usersatet served, bears the epithets usually attributed to Usersatet and wears the dress in which Usersatet is customarily shown make it almost certain that it was indeed Usersatet who also had this graffito carved.

Thus on the western side of Bibitagoug, Usersatet carved six graffiti. There must have been some reason for his carving in this place. Opposite it is the site where ruins of the chapel of Anukis were discovered. The few fragments left of this chapel proved that it was Amenophis II who built it ⁽¹⁾. In his capacity of viceroy of this king, Usersatet must have supervised the work on the chapel, and that would explain the presence of such a large number of his graffiti in this particular spot.

But the attention which Amenophis II gave to the cult of Anukis was not limited to the erection of the chapel; he also offered to her chapel many objects used in the cult of the goddess and added a fourth day to her previous three day festival ⁽²⁾. Usersatet carved a seventh graffito, this time on the island to the south of Seheil called Ras Seheil (fig. 12, here given no. 10 = De Morgan, 75; Sayce in *RT*, XVI, p. 73 and the present writer in *JEA*, 39, p. 58) in which he referred to this festival, showing that he, like his sovereign, was interested in the worship of the goddess of the Island. In this graffito we have the figure of a

⁽¹⁾ The present writer in *JEA*, 39, p. 57, and note 5.

⁽²⁾ For references to this stela see PORTER-MOSS, *op. cit.*, 229.



Fig. 12. — Inscr. 10.

standing man with uplifted arms ⁽¹⁾ and an inscription of six vertical lines. This reads :

10. *Giving adoration to Amun, doing obeisance to Re-Harakhti by the viceroy, the overseer of the (Southern) Lands, User(sate)t after coming to see the beauties of Anukis in her beautiful festival of proceeding to Sehel. He made accordingly five canals (?) with workmen ⁽²⁾ scorched in their limbs (?); this (?) being done anew ⁽³⁾.*

Here the reading of the text is much improved, though the end is difficult to follow. But it is clear from the inscription that Usersatet

⁽¹⁾ The man wears a garment like the one he is shown with in other graffiti.

⁽²⁾ It is known that *s*, «pool», interchanges with *mr* «canal», see GARDINER, *Gram.*, Sign-list, N. 37. *K?(w)t* here may stand for *K?wt'w* «workmen» as suggested to me by Prof. Edel.

⁽³⁾ For *snwh*, see *Wb.*, 4, 157, 16. The words at the end are not quite sure.



Fig. 13. — Inscr. 11.

was charged with the digging of five canals, which task he perhaps carried out for his sovereign during the scorching months of summer. This reminds us of the five canals dug in the First Cataract by Uni some ten centuries before ⁽¹⁾. Here again, as in most of the inscriptions of Usersatet, his figure, titles and name are partly erased, but sufficient traces remain to show that it was carved by him.

Apart from the graffiti of Usersatet on Seheil and Ras Seheil, there exists one more in the region of Aswan. This is engraved on the so-called Gebel Tingar on the west bank opposite Aswan, not far from St. Simeon's Monastery (fig. 13; here given no. 11 = De Morgan 128, 5). This graffiti made for Usersatet is the only one in the place which contains the name of a viceroy. Here we have two figures, the one in front on a larger scale than the other figure and a considerable part of the accompanying inscription has been intentionally erased,

⁽¹⁾ BREASTED, *AR*, I, § 324.

but sufficient traces remain to give the exact reading of it. The larger figure has uplifted arms and wears a garment which reaches a little below the knees. A vertical line of inscription in front of him reads :

11. *Giving adoration to Khnum by the viceroy and overseer of the Southern Lands, Usersatet.*

Above the second smaller figure is another inscription of two vertical lines which reads :

The deputy of the viceroy Usersatet, Meh.

The copy by De Morgan, which is the only copy hitherto available, contains many misreadings.

Here we have the mention of Khnum, as we do in most of the graffiti of this particular place (De Morgan, 126-8). It is not improbable that during the reign of Amenophis II a chapel was built here as there was on Sehel. But there is no doubt that Amenophis II erected a chapel or a temple on Elephantine, this time for Satis, the chief goddess of the Island. In the ruins of the late temples we came across parts of granite door-jambs bearing the name of the king⁽¹⁾. Two small obelisks of granite were found some time ago on the Island. One of these is now in the Cairo Museum and the other is in Alnwick Castle in England (Porter-Moss, 244). In one of the houses which used to stand on Philae, a column originally from Elephantine was found re-used⁽²⁾. It is probable, therefore, that Usersatet engraved his graffiti opposite Elephantine to commemorate his activity and his sovereign's activity on the Island itself.

Thus Usersatet left 8 graffiti in the region of Aswan. He seems to have given great attention to the district, and we may ask ourselves if he was not originally from there, especially since the name of the

⁽¹⁾ Not yet published.

⁽²⁾ PORTER-MOSS, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, VI, 256.

goddess Satis is an element of his name. Helck guessed that he was buried in Gurnet Murai as were the viceroys Huy and Mermose. But Huy and Mermose seem to have been originally from Thebes, for each of them bore certain titles relating them to Amun, the chief god of the capital. It would seem that the tomb of Usersatet is to be sought rather in Qubbet El-Hawa among the tombs of the nobles of Aswan.

The inscriptions of Usersatet have given us information about two important officials who were his deputies as viceroy. These are Sennufer who was previously known, although the period in which he lived was unknown, and Meh whom we identify here for the first time. Another graffiti was made by a charioteer of Usersatet, but his name is still unknown. He seems to have been persecuted, thus sharing the fate of his master.

Usersatet may have survived Amenophis II and served Tuthmosis IV, but it seems that Amenhotep, who left an inscription on Sehel (no. 12 here = Reisner, 32, 5a; *LD, Text IV*, 125, 5a; De Morgan, 92, 108; Gauthier, 192-4) served as viceroy for some time at the end of the reign of Tuthmosis IV and the beginning of that of Amenophis III. His inscription reads : —

12. *Overseer of the cattle of Amun, director of the works of the South and the North, head of the stable of his Majesty, the viceroy of Kush, overseer of the Southern Lands, the brave of the king and the praised of the good god, the royal scribe, Amenhotep⁽¹⁾.*

Mermose is known to have lived under Amenophis III and to have left three graffiti in the region of Aswan. One of these (no. 13 = Reisner, 33, 6f; *LD, Text, IV*, 125, 12; De Morgan, 91, 96) is on Sehel and

⁽¹⁾ Lately Zaba has shown that Amenhotep was director of works for Upper and Lower Egypt and overseer of the cattle of Amun in the reign of Tuthmosis IV, while Usersatet was still viceroy. When Amenhotep succeeded Usersatet, he was the first to bear the full title of «Viceroy of Kush», see *ASAE*, L, p. 513. It is quite possible that this Amenhotep, of whom we have only this inscription, is the same as Amenhotep-Huy of the reign of Tutankhamen.

shows this viceroy holding a fan and a crook in front of the prenomen of Amenophis III, underneath which is the inscription :

13. *The viceroy Mermose.*

The second inscription lies opposite Elephantine (no. 14 = Reisner 33, 6d; LD, *Text*, IV, 117; De Morgan, 39, 177) and also shows



Fig. 14. — Inscr. 15.

him with a fan opposite the prenomen of Amenophis III and describes him as :

14. *Giving adoration to the Lord of the Two Lands by the king's son of Kush, Mermose.*

This inscription has been added to another, inscribed by Mermose when he was a steward and a royal scribe. The third graffito (fig. 14, no. 15 = Reisner 33, 6e; De Morgan, 27, 204 and Petrie, pl. X, 274) is engraved along the Shellal Road over an earlier one; hence it is difficult to determine its contents. We here give a new rendering, showing that the earlier inscription may have been one dated to year

28 (?) of the reign of Sesostris I (?). What interests us most is the inscription of Mermose himself. Here we find him with a fan slung on his back lifting his hands in adoration towards the prenomen of Amenophis III. The cartouche is surmounted by two horns with feathers and flanked by two uraei. It stands on the *nb*-sign, underneath which are the words :

15. *All the flat Lands and all the foreign Lands* ⁽¹⁾.

In front of, above and behind Mermose there is the inscription :

Giving adoration to the victorious king, doing obeisance to the good god by the confident of the king in the Southern Cities ⁽²⁾, *the overseer of works, the overseer of the Golden (Lands of Amun), the viceroy of Kush to its length, the real royal scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands* ⁽³⁾, *Mermose the blessed* (?).

We can now add to these three graffiti a fourth one (fig. 15, no. 16) which we found on Hassawanarti Island opposite the Aswan Museum. A part of this inscription is always under water. It shows Mermose

⁽¹⁾ Meaning undoubtedly that these lands are under his control.

⁽²⁾ REISNER, *op. cit.*, takes the plural strokes as belonging to *Sm'w*, but they ought to go with *niwt šm'w* (GAUTHIER, *Dic. géogr.* III, 73), the main towns of Upper Egypt, and should refer here to Edfu and Kom-Ombo controlled by Mermose. It may be interesting to point out that Mermose was the only viceroy who used the epithet «Confident of the king in the Southern Cities». It is known that Nehi's territory extended from Nekheb to the frontier at Karay, but in the 28th year of Tuthmosis III, Rekhmare was appointed as vizier supervising Upper Egypt including the area north of Aswan. There is no evidence that Usersatet or Amenhotep controlled the latter district, while there is more than one proof that Mermose governed that district. He may be the first viceroy to regain the rights of the viceroy since it has been taken by Rekhmare, thence the use of the epithet and title referred to him SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, pp. 178-80.

⁽³⁾ For the titles of Mermose, see ZABA, *op. cit.*, p. 512, and VARILLE, *ASAE*, XLV, p. 15. Those borne by Mermose in this graffito were rendered by Reisner according to the copies then known as : *Favourite of the king in the southern city . . .* (3 groups lost ending with mountain-sign) *to its length* (?), *king's scribe* (*op. cit.*).

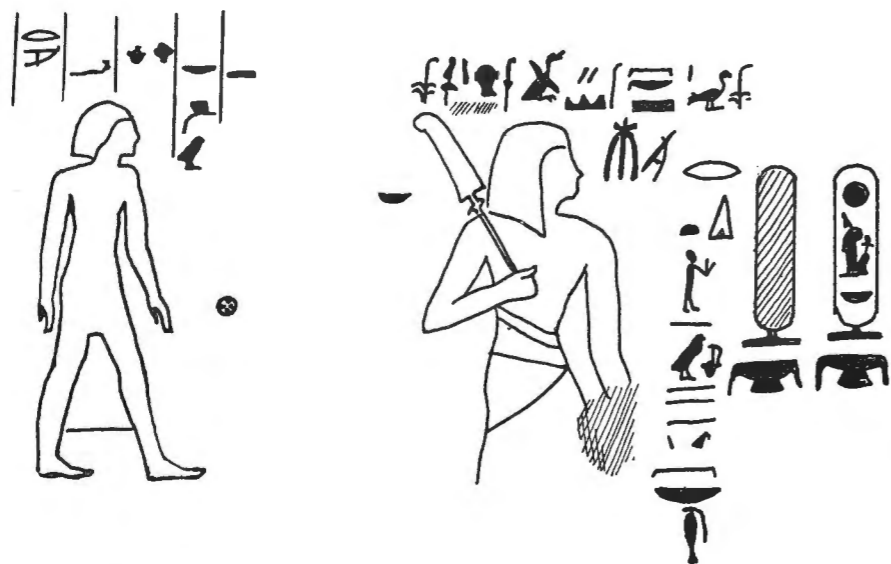


Fig. 15. — Inscr. 16.

carrying a fan. In front of him are the prenomen and name of Amenophis III, the name having been erased by Akhenaten.

A vertical line of inscription continued by two horizontal ones reads :

16. *Giving adoration to Khnum and doing obeisance to the Lord of the Cataract region (by) the viceroy of Kush, the fan-bearer on the right of the king, Mermose.*

Behind him is a man shown on a smaller scale but accompanied by a longer inscription of which nothing but a few signs could be traced. This man must have been one of the officials working under Mermose.

Mermose thus left four inscriptions in the region of Aswan. One of these was engraved on the rocks of Sehel, perhaps on an occasion when he passed once through the waters of the Cataract. The second and the fourth are carved opposite Elephantine where Amenophis III built a chapel which was still standing until about A.D. 1822⁽¹⁾. The third

⁽¹⁾ *JEA*, 32, p. 59 and note 1.

inscription was engraved on a boulder along the Shellal Road. As we have already suggested, this road was used for armies going to the South. Mermose is mentioned on a stela from Semneh (now in the British Museum), which is dated in the 5th year of Amenophis III and speaks of a revolt in the Land of Ibhet (Gauthier, 194 and Säve-Söderbergh, 159 and 181). This would indicate that he took part in dealing with this revolt.

The next viceroy was Thutmose who served under Amenophis IV - Akhenaten. He left two rock inscriptions on Sehel. The first (no. 17 = Reisner, 34, 7b; De Morgan, 90, 84; *LD, Text*, IV, 125, 11), showing the viceroy in front of the prenomen of the king with the following words underneath :

17. *The viceroy Thutmose.*

The second graffito (fig. 16, given no, 18 = Reisner, 34, 7d and De Morgan, 86, 35) may be more important. It consists of two horizontal lines of inscription reading : —

18. *The viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Gold (Lands) of Amun, overseer of the Southern Lands and overseer of the masons⁽¹⁾, Thutmose.*



Fig. 16. — Inscr. 18.

Thutmose seems to have been on his way to Kush when he had these two graffiti carved, perhaps he was proceeding to Sesebi to supervise

⁽¹⁾ This is rendered by Reisner as : *King's son of Kush (overseer of the Gold Lands) of Amun . . . , overseer of the masons (?) (op. cit., 34, 7d)* but it is clear from the original that we have the title before the last.

the work on the temple erected there by Amenophis IV for the Theban triad ⁽¹⁾.

Under Tutankhamen lived the viceroy Amenhotep-Huy known to us by his tomb (No. 40 in the Theban Necropolis) and by other monuments. It has been assumed that he left three rock inscriptions in the region of Aswan, but we shall see below that these, together with two more, are to be attributed to his namesake who lived under Ramesses II. It seems that Huy who lived under Tutankhamen did not leave any rock inscriptions in the Aswan district ⁽²⁾.

Amenhotep-Huy was followed by Paser who was the last viceroy in the XVIIIth Dynasty. Paser left only one graffito in the region and that on the Island of Sehel (given no. 19 = Reisner, 37, 9c; LD, Text, IV, 126, 20; De Morgan, 86, 31 and Gauthier, 199). It is one of the few graffiti of the viceroys in which a local deity appears. Anukis is shown in front of Paser with the words :

19. *Utterance of Anukis (wrongly copied as Satis by De Morgan), mistress of Sehel, mistress of heaven and consort of gods.*

Paser is described as :

The prince and governor, the noble in front of mankind, praised of his lord Amun, the viceroy of Kush, Paser.

Behind him is a figure on a smaller scale, above which is an inscription of two vertical lines reading :

Made by the chief of the works Panpamwdja (?).

This chief of works seems to have been responsible for carving the graffito, and that was perhaps the reason why the inscription was not considered quite official (see above p. 13). Here again, the chief

⁽¹⁾ PORTER-MOSS, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, VII, 172 ff.

⁽²⁾ He did, however, leave a graffito in Biga Island (PORTER-MOSS, 256, 18B) but we are not dealing here with the inscriptions on that island. For an inscription in the district which may have been carved by him, see footnote 1, p. 43 above.

of works probably came to Sehel to extract granite blocks wanted somewhere in Nubia or Kush.

Amenemopet, Paser's son, followed his father as viceroy and served Seti I. He left four graffiti in the region, all of which were carved along the Shellal Road. Mariette spoke of a fifth graffito (Reisner, 39, 10e) which he saw in Sehel, but nobody since has been able to find it and it is quite likely that he referred to one of the graffiti on the road. The first of these graffiti (no. 20 = Reisner, 38, 10a; LD, Text, IV, 121, 18; Petrie, pl. V, 110; De Morgan, 20, 123) shows Seti who has stepped down from his war chariot, and is holding an enemy by the hair, while the viceroy Amenemopet kneels and lifts his hands in adoration. The latter is described as :

20. *The first charioteer of his Majesty, the viceroy Amenemopet, son of the viceroy Paser.*

The second graffito (no. 21 = Reisner, 38, 10b; Petrie, pl. V, 109; De Morgan, 20, 124) consists of two registers. In the upper one Seti I is about to smite an enemy, while in the lower register the viceroy stands with uplifted arms and is described as :

21. *The first charioteer of his Majesty⁽¹⁾, the viceroy of Kush, Amenemopet.*

The third graffito (no. 22 = Reisner 38, 10c; LD, III, 141h, Text, IV, 120, 9; Petrie, pl. VI, 130; De Morgan, 28, 5) also shows Seti I smiting an enemy, while the viceroy kneels opposite and raises his hands in adoration. The viceroy is styled as :

22. *The fan-bearer on the right of the king, the overseer of the Southern Lands, the viceroy Amenemopet, the blessed.*

Of the last rock inscription of Amenemopet (no. 23 = Reisner, 38, 10d; De Morgan, 29, 12) only part of the original representation survives. It apparently showed the king again smiting an enemy in

⁽¹⁾ Rendered by Reisner as *Charioteer of His Majesty* (*op. cit.*, 38, 10b).

front of Amenemopet, but only the lower part of the king survives. Underneath him is the inscription :

23. ... *the overseer of the Southern Lands, the viceroy, Amenem[opet].*

In the four inscriptions carved for Amenemopet on the Shellal Road, the king is shown smiting or about to smite a prisoner. We have pointed out before that on this road graffiti commemorating the victories of kings over their enemies are met with. For this reason we stated that viceroys chose this road along which to carve their graffiti, when they took part in campaigns to the South. Was there a war waged against the South in the time of Seti I? Säve-Söderbergh has rejected the idea of any battles during that reign. He prefers to see in references to victories over the South simply the conventional phrases, especially because in the famous scenes of the wars of Seti on the exterior of the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak there is no mention of a war in the South (p. 168). But according to a stela found in Buhen, Seti I is said to have gone to Buhen in the second year of his father's reign, and there he placed male and female slaves whom he captured. Soon after his visit Seti I ascended the throne and thereupon inserted his name within a cartouche on the stela. It is quite probable, therefore, that Amenemopet, who was then the viceroy of Kush and perhaps took an actual part in the battle as the first charioteer of his Majesty, carved these graffiti on the Shellal Road, where he depicted his sovereign smiting the enemy.

During the long reign of Ramesses II six or perhaps seven men assumed the office of viceroy, but of these we have the names of only two recorded on the cliffs of Aswan region. It has been stated that Hekanakht left a graffito or two on the Shellal Road and perhaps a third on Seheil.

24. One of his inscriptions on the road (no. 24 = Reisner, 41, 12g; De Morgan, 27, 207 bis) is very difficult to decipher. The author is shown carrying the fan and saluting the cartouches of Ramesses II, but nothing can now be seen of the name and titles. The second graffito, also on the road (fig. 17, given no. 25 = Reisner, 41, 12; Petrie, pl. X, 275; De Morgan, 27, 205) is carved on a somewhat



Fig. 17. — Inscr. 25.

rough surface; thence the difficulty in making a reliable copy of the text which it bears. The viceroy is seen lifting his hands in adoration before the prenomen of Ramesses II, having a sun disk between two feathers above and the *sm'-twy*-sign underneath it. The inscription, which begins with two vertical lines and ends in a horizontal one, reads :

25. *Made by the chief of the Stable-of-the-Residence of the Hall of Audience of Ramessu-Meramen, the king's messenger to every land, the viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, the fan-bearer on the right (of the king), the king's scribe, Huy (the blessed).*

This inscription was attributed by Reisner to Hekanakht on the basis of the belief that he was the only viceroy of Ramesses II who bore the title «Messenger»⁽¹⁾. But since this title was dropped

⁽¹⁾ This is translated by Reisner as : ... *of the house of the palace-of-Ramesses II, the messenger to every land, king's son of Kush, overseer of the Southern Lands, fan-bearer on the king's right ...*



Fig. 18. — Inscr. 26.

on the other monuments of Hekanakht and is only found on a statuette of him, it may also have been dropped on the other known monuments of Huy⁽¹⁾. Huy, who has been hitherto unknown, left four more inscriptions in the region of Aswan, one of which was also attributed to Hekanakht, while the three others were supposed to have been carved by Amenhotep-Huy who lived under Tutankhamen.

We shall attempt here to show that these inscriptions can be safely attributed to the viceroy Huy, who lived under Ramesses II. The four inscriptions are all on Sehel Island. The first (fig. 18, given no. 26 = Reisner 35, 8c; De Morgan, 84, 8) has one figure of the viceroy to the right and another to the left of the two cartouches of Ramesses II.

⁽¹⁾ SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, p. 176, and notes 11-13, shows the possibility of a viceroy of that name during the reign of Ramesses II, although he depends for evidence upon a stela in the Berlin Museum, which is to be attributed rather to the other Huy, (see below pp. 102 ff.).

In front of the right figure and behind the left are vertical lines, each reading :

26. *The viceroy of Kush, Huy.*

The cartouches of the king in the middle are followed by words which describe him as :

Beloved of Khnum, Satis and Anukis.

Under the whole scene are the words :

The viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, the fan-bearer on the king's right, Huy.

No trace of change or addition can be detected in this graffito and the manner in which the cartouches are carved is the same as that in the rest of the graffito. It is strange, then, that Reisner refers to this graffito as «undated (Tutankhamun erased and replaced by Ramesses II)», and says further about it «Apparently three different graffiti, cartouches of Ramesses II» (p. 35, 8c). Gauthier (pp. 197-8), on the other hand, says : «Je n'ai rien à ajouter à la liste de ces monuments telle qu'elle a été dressée par M. Reisner, — j'admets avec lui la restauration des noms de Ramsès II dans les cartouches des graffiti de Séhel par-dessus les noms du roi Tutankhamon préalablement martelés sous Aï ou sous Harmehabi (c et d de M. Reisner, p. 35)». But it is clear that the whole graffito was engraved during the reign of Ramesses II (compare also SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, 176).

The same can be said about the second graffito of the same man on Sehel (fig. 19, given no. 27 = Reisner 35, 8d; De Morgan, 96, 153). This one has two registers; in the upper register (a) Ramesses II offering two vases of wine to the triad of the Cataract region and is described in three vertical lines as :

27a. *The good god «Usermare Setpenre» the son of Re. «Ramessu-Meramen'», given life.*

An inscription below the extended arms says :

Giving wine to his father.



Fig. 19. — Inscr. 27.

Before the first member of the triad are the words :

Utterance of Khnum, lord of the Cataract region.

The second member bears no label, while the third is referred to in an inscription behind her, reading :

Anukis, mistress of Sehel, mistress of heaven and consort of all gods.

In the lower register (b) is the representation of Huy with uplifted arms and with the fan slung on his back. Facing him appears the prenomen of Ramesses II under the sun-disk and feathers. An inscription in front of Huy reads :

27b. *The viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, the royal scribe, Huy.*



Fig. 20. — Inscr. 28.

Here we find that the style used in carving the inscriptions and that followed in engraving the cartouches is the same as that of the previous graffito. It is to be noted also that in both graffiti parts inside the figures are shown uncarved; thus showing that they were both carved at the same time. We have, therefore, to reject the remarks made by both Reisner and Gauthier about this graffito also.

The third graffito (fig. 20, given no. 28 = Reisner, 35, 8d; De Morgan, 96, 161) has the viceroy lifting one hand in adoration and holding the fan in the other. He is styled :

28. *The viceroy of Kush, Huy.*

Facing him is the king above whom is the sun-disk with pendant uraei.
In front of the king is the inscription :

*The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands and
master of ceremonies «Usermare-setpenre», «Ramessu-meramen».*



Fig. 21. — Inscr. 29.

This again has been attributed to the reign of Tutankhamen, but undoubtedly it should be assigned to that of Ramesses II. The fourth inscription (fig. 21, given no. 29 = Reisner, 41, 12 f.; De Morgan, 99, 198) shows the viceroy with both hands lifted in adoration and the fan slung on his back. Before him are the cartouches of Ramesses II, each under the two feathers, followed by the words :

29. *The viceroy of Kush, Huy.*

This also was taken to have been carved by Hekanakht rather than Setau (Reisner, *op. cit.*), but it is clear that it too belongs to Huy.

Huy, therefore, left in the region of Aswan five graffiti, one on the road leading from Aswan to Konosso, and the rest on Sehel. Ramesses II

waged war in the South (Säve-Söderbergh, 170 ff.) and that is perhaps the reason why Huy carved his graffito on the road. That he should have four inscriptions on Sehel is a sign of his great interest in this island. Whether this was due to the fact that he perhaps built a chapel to Anukis there or that he also carved these in the Island when he was on his way to the South, it is quite impossible to say.

The second viceroy in the reign of Ramesses II who left graffiti in the Aswan region was Setau. He left three graffiti in all; one on Sehel and two on the road. The former (no. 30 = Reisner, 43, 14u; De Morgan, 97, 174) seems to have been unofficial since he and his wife are kneeling before Anukis, the chief goddess of the Island. The cartouches of the king appear behind the goddess who is herself referred to as :

30. *Anukis, mistress of Sehel.*

Above the viceroy are the words :

The viceroy of Kush, Setau,

while behind his wife is the label :

The chantress of Amun, Nofretmut.

Setau seems to have payed an unofficial visit with his wife to the chapel of Anukis, and so he showed the local goddess and not the reigning king.

The second graffito of Setau is one on the road leading to Konosso (no. 31 = Reisner, 43, 14tA; De Morgan, 28, 3). This has the cartouches of the king, followed by the words :

31. *Made by the viceroy of Kush, Setau.*

The third graffito (no. 32 = Reisner, 43, 14tB; De Morgan, 28, 4) has the prenomen of the king followed by the words :

32. *Made by the viceroy, Setau.*

Setau thus left three graffiti, one in Sehel which commemorated a personal visit which he made with his wife to the Island. As for the two inscriptions which he left on the road, they must have commemorated a campaign to the South which Setau in the capacity of viceroy probably supervised.



Fig. 22. — Inscr. 33.

To these three graffiti, we can now add a new one. This one lies opposite Elephantine in the public garden close to the Cataract Hotel (fig. 22, no. 33 in our serial number). It shows the seated king above whom hovers a falcon. The king holds the *heka*-sceptre in his left hand and extends the other towards the viceroy. Behind that king are the words :

33. (all) life, (protection) ... (behind him).

The viceroy is shown leaning forward slightly towards the sovereign, extending his right hand and raising the fan with the other before the

cartouches of the king. There seems to have been a speech addressed to the viceroy, of which the following words survive

... Horus «Beloved-of-Ma'et», the treasury is filled for my Majesty with silver and gold⁽¹⁾.

Above the viceroy is an inscription in three vertical lines which reads :

... the fan-bearer on the right of the king, (the viceroy of) Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands. Setau.

Many a monument inscribed with the names of Ramesses II has been found on the Island of Elephantine. Ramesses II, therefore, may have built in this island a temple or a chapel, the erection of which Setau supervised as viceroy; under Ramesses II's successor, Messuy was viceroy. He left but one graffiti and that was on the road (no. 34 = Reisner, 47, 15a; De Morgan, 18, 87; LD, III, pl. 200f.; Petrie, pl. II, 70). In it he is shown holding out the fan with both hands toward the king who is in his war chariot and looking backwards, the viceroy is described in an inscription above him as :

34. The viceroy of Kush, the overseer of (the Southern Lands), the fan-bearer on the king's right, the royal scribe, Messuy, the blessed.

Below the whole scene is a horizontal line reading :

The viceroy of Kush, the fan-bearer on the king's right, the royal scribe, Messuy the blessed.

Here again we see a viceroy in the presence of his sovereign who stands in his war chariot. Were there hostilities in the South during the reign of Merenptah? According to Säve-Söderbergh (pp. 172-3), this is not certain, but it would seem strange for Messuy to show himself in the graffiti he carved in Aswan, on the road with military scenes

⁽¹⁾ This is not strange, since Setau bore the title *Overseer of the two Houses of Silver and Gold*, as can be concluded from his statue in the Cairo Mus. (No. 1134), see SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, p. 176, and note 8.

before his sovereign in a war chariot without having taken part in a war in the South.

The viceroy Seti who served under Siptah, left two rock inscriptions, one in Sehel and the second on the road. The first (no. 35 = Reisner, 48, 16d; LD, III, pl. 202b; De Morgan, 86, 29) shows the viceroy kneeling before the cartouches of the king, which are followed by the inscription :

35. *Year 3, the first month of Shemu, the 20th day. Giving adoration to your ka, O valiant king, that he may give praises to the ka of the fan-bearer on the king's right, the viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, Seti.*

Underneath the whole inscription is a horizontal line reading :

The prince and governor, the fan-bearer on the king's right, the overseer of the Southern Lands, Seti, the blessed, possessor of veneration.

The second (no. 36 = Reisner, 48, 16e; LD, III, 202c; De Morgan, 28, 6) shows the sitting king on his throne with the chief chancellor Bay standing behind him and the viceroy in front of him. The latter is described as :

36. *Viceroy of Kush, overseer of the Gold Lands of Amun, fan-bearer on the king's right, chief steward of Amenre⁽¹⁾, the king's scribe of the records of Pharaoh, l.p.h., Seti, the blessed.*

The activities of Seti under Siptah are not known to us, although he left inscriptions in Abu Simbel and Buhen. Perhaps he commemorated a visit to Sehel, but whether he was involved in any campaign against the South or not, it is very difficult to say.

Hori I is known to have followed Seti as viceroy. No inscription of his is known in the region of Aswan, but examination of the graffito in Sehel heretofore attributed to his son Hori II reveals that it actually

⁽¹⁾ Taken by REISNER, *op. cit.*, and by BREASTED, *AR*, III, § 647 as *great steward, of the king.*

belongs to him. From our facsimile (fig. 23, no. 37 = Reisner, 50, 18b; De Morgan, 84, 3), it can be seen that two men are shown in adoration before a cat-headed goddess, taken by De Morgan to be



Fig. 23. — Inscr. 37.

Sekhmet, who is Bastet, goddess of Bubastis, from which city Hori and his family came. The goddess is referred to with the words :

37. *Bastet, mistress of Bubastis, mistress of heaven and consort of the gods. The inscription above the two men says :*

Made for the viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, the royal scribe, Hori, the blessed. His beloved son, the first charioteer of his Majesty, Webekh[senu]⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Rendered by Reisner (50, 18b) as : *king's son of Kush, overseer of the Southern Lands, King's scribe, Hori, His beloved son, Wentawuat?* Gauthier, in speaking about *Un vice-roi d'Ethiopie enseveli à Bubastis* in *ASAE*, 28, pp. 129 ff. refers to this graffito (p. 134) and says that it may show Hori I and his son, though he does not give the name of that son.

Hori I seems to have been very loyal to his home deity; hence the representation of her in this and other inscriptions rather than that of the local deity. In passing once by Sehel Webekhsenu, perhaps in the company of his father, engraved this inscription on the Island. It is worth noting that he left in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen a graffito dated in the sixth year of Siptah. There he is again shown in the presence of Bastet⁽¹⁾.



Fig. 24. — Inscr. 38.

Opposite Elephantine near the modern Nilometre, we found yet another inscription (no. 38, see fig. 24). This is perhaps the one reproduced in De Morgan, 41, 183, where we have just the cartouches of Ramesses III with the representation of a man with upraised arms on each side. But examining the inscription, we find that behind the man on the left, there remains only the name. In front of the man on the right is the inscription :

38. (*the king's son*) of Kush, the royal scribe, Hori.
and underneath :

(*Made by*) the king's son of Kush, the overseer (of the Southern)
Lands, (*the fan-bearer*) on the king's (right), the royal scribe, Hori.

⁽¹⁾ For references to this graffito, see PORTER-MOSS, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, VII, 134, under 13^s.

It is probable that the author was Hori II and not his father Hori I. Both viceroys seem to have served Ramesses III, but the titles point rather to the son than the father. Regardless of which of the two carved the graffito, it is known that Ramesses III erected some building on Elephantine, opposite which the graffito was engraved.

No viceroy later than Hori II left inscriptions in the Aswan region and so our list ends here. Of that number two are here published for the first time. These are the graffito of Mermose in Hassawanarti (no. 16) and that of Setau opposite Elephantine (no. 33). In addition to these, improvements have been made in the reading of a number of signs in most of the graffiti inscriptions, so as to show their true importance. These are the inscriptions of Nehi and his son (no. 3), of Huy (nos. 28 and 29) and of Hori I (no. 37), all on Sehel, those of Mermose (no. 15) and Huy (no. 25) on the road and that of Hori II (no. 38) opposite Elephantine.

It has also been shown that the five graffiti inscribed with the name of Huy on Sehel (nos. 26-29) and on the road (no. 25) are to be dated to the reign of Ramesses II and not to that of Tutankhamen or his immediate successors. It was another Huy who was viceroy under Ramesses II. Most important are the seven inscriptions previously known but not hitherto attributed to Usersatet (nos. 5-11). The titles and the name are mostly erased in these seven, but sufficient traces remain to make our identification certain. Through these graffiti some of the officials who helped him in his work, such as the deputies Sennufer (no. 5) and Meh (no. 11) are now known. It can be seen also, how he was responsible for digging five canals in the Cataract region.

From the graffiti at Aswan, we have been able also to deduce something about the work of the viceroys in the region. Some of them were concerned with buildings on either Elephantine or Sehel, while others took part in wars in the South. As representatives of the king they were always responsible for any work done in their domain.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST TWO VICEROYS OF KUSH AND THEIR FAMILY

IN the fifth number of *Kush* we published the graffiti left by the viceroys of Kush in the region of Aswan ⁽¹⁾, showing how many of them tried to leave a record of their visits or work in the region. There we showed also that in most of these inscriptions the name of the viceroy is written and sometimes his figure is represented opposite that of the sovereign. In two cases only did we find the viceroy depicted in the presence of local divinities, in a third one he was shown adoring his local deity, and in two particular instances he was represented accompanied by a member of his family and in the third one followed by one of his officials. There we came to the conclusion that «the viceregal visits to the region were considered strictly official» ⁽²⁾.

We can come to the same conclusion if we examine the inscriptions left by these viceroys in the other places which were under their control. These great officials were second only to the king in these places and have left many graffiti and other monuments, such as stelae, statues and even rock shrines ⁽³⁾. But there again it was the king that was more often mentioned than any divinity, while relatives are rarely shown or mentioned. Strange to say, in places outside their fields of work, very few objects were found inscribed with their names. Even in Thebes, whence some of them originally came and where some chose to erect their tombs, only a few objects were left by them ⁽⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Pp. 13 ff, (above pp. 29 ff).

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 16, (above p. 31).

⁽³⁾ Such as those erected in Ibrim, see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 92-3 and in Gebel El-Shams, p. 132.

⁽⁴⁾ See below (p. 87 : 2, 3).

This may be the reason why very little is known about their lives and those of the members of their families. But thanks to three statues left by the relatives of the first two viceroys we know many details about them and their family, perhaps more than we know about the families of the other viceroys. Though all of these statues have previously been published, their inscriptions were either improperly interpreted or understood, so that their value was not realized. Here we give a description of these statues and an account of their inscriptions, showing how they can offer us many interesting details about six generations of the family. At the end, we shall speak of the first two viceroys, and in particular of the second one.

The most important of these statues is in quartzite, 53 cm. high, and was procured in 1909 by the British Museum, where it has been kept under No. 888. It is not known where it came from, but, as we shall show below, it may have been standing in Deir El-Bahari⁽¹⁾. As can be seen from the two views kindly sent to us by the Keepers of the British Museum, it shows a man sitting with the legs bent up, the arms crossed over the knees and under the chin. A *hṯp*-sign is carved on the front at the place where the two arms meet. The man is dressed in a leopard skin, wearing a wig and sandals.

Two inscriptions are carved on the statue, one on the front and the other on the back. The former consists of a horizontal line, followed by nine vertical ones and ending with another horizontal line. From this inscription it is clear that the statue was made by the scribe of the divine offerings of Amun, Hori (?) for his father Teti, who was sometimes called Tetity. This latter has many titles of which some are rather unclear, but the most important titles may be the ones written at the head of the titles on the front and which shows him to have held the title later borne by his son, and that at the beginning of the titles on the back describing him as «royal scribe».

⁽¹⁾ See below p. 78 f.

To understand the importance of the statue, we give a facsimile of its inscriptions⁽¹⁾. From these it can be seen that on the front we have :

«May the king give (offerings) to Amun and to Horakhti, that they may grant usefulness, power, justification, joy and good veneration [2] to the ka of scribe of the divine offerings of Amun, Teti, the deceased, [3] to the ka of the One who is over the secrets in the House of Amun, Teti, the deceased, [4] to the ka of the craftsman (?)⁽²⁾ in the House of Ptah, Teti, the deceased, [5] to the ka of the royal scribe, the chieftain of the lector-priests, the One who fills⁽³⁾ the heart of his Lord, Teti, the deceased, [6] to the ka of the prophet of . . . in the House of Rš⁽⁴⁾, the *stm*-priest, Teti, the deceased, [7] to the ka of the prophet of Horus of . . .⁽⁵⁾, the royal scribe, Teti, the deceased, [8] to the ka of the prophet of Horus of the staircase (?)⁽⁶⁾, Tetity, the deceased, [9] to the ka of the overseer of the scribes . . .⁽⁷⁾ the scribe (?), Tetity, the

⁽¹⁾ This facsimile is made according to the views of the statue with the help of the copy reproduced in *Hieroglyphic Texts from Stelae, and C., in the British Museum*, part V, pl. 25. My friend Harry James was kind enough to examine the statue and point out to me some corrections.

⁽²⁾ This sign may be cursive writing for the sign *hm*, GARDINER, *Sign-List*, U 24, as suggested to me by Harry James, and thus would perhaps mean «the craftsman». Here this title is related to Ptah, who was known to be *ms hmwt* and *ms hmw*; high priests of Memphis are known to have borne the title *wr hrp hmwt*, *Wb.*, III, 86; 9, 13 and 1 respectively. Ptah had a special temple in Karnak and some chapels on the other side, HOLMBERG, *The God Ptah*, pp. 244 ff.

⁽³⁾ The sign is copied like the sign *mr* (*Sign-List*, F 20), but from the photograph, it looks rather like that of *mḥ* (V 23), which fits here with the context.

⁽⁴⁾ May be standing for Shu and Tefnut, as suggested by Dr Helck. Nothing is known about *Pr-rš*.

⁽⁵⁾ As pointed out to me by Dr Helck, the vizier Paser of the reign of Seti I is described as *hr-ib Hr* followed by the child with the crown of L.E. and the woman suckling a child (Cairo 42164), where we have *hm-ntr Hr* followed by the child with the crown of L.E. Was Teti a prophet of «Harpocrates» as suggested by Dr Helck, or that of «Horus»? the Child, see *Wb.*, I, 410 : 1. For a similar title, see Stela no. 20539 of Cairo Museum (L 16), LANGE und SCHÄFER, *Grab- und Denksteine . . .*, 2, p. 153.

⁽⁶⁾ As proposed by Dr Helck, Horus is here assimilated with Min, who is often described as «on his staircase».

⁽⁷⁾ Nothing can be said about this word.

deceased, [10] to the ka of the stm-priest in the House of Duat, Tetity, the deceased. [11] His son the scribe of the divine offerings of Amun, Hori (?)⁽¹⁾, born to the mistress of the house, Mutnesw» (fig. 25).

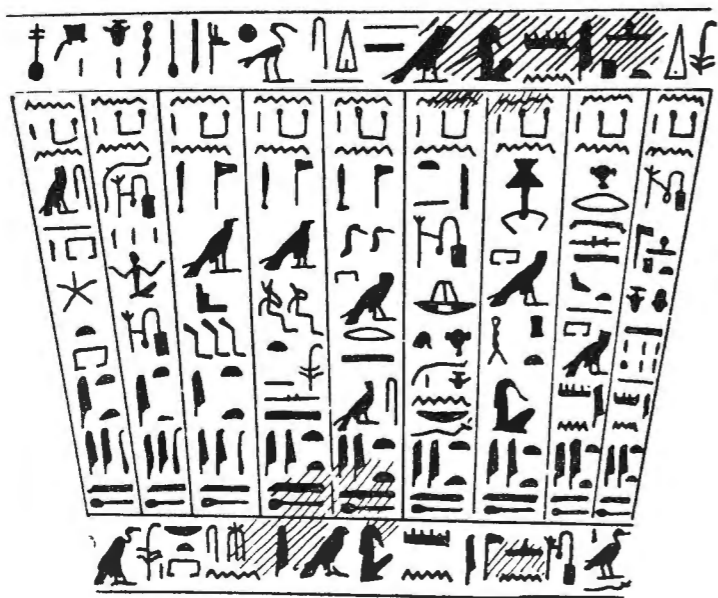


Fig. 25. — Front of the statue of Teti.

On the back there is an inscription formed of a horizontal line, followed by three vertical ones. This reads :

«The royal scribe, the chieftain of the lector-priests, the craftsman (?), Teti, [2] son of the scribe of the divine offerings⁽²⁾ of Amun, Ahmose Patheni, the deceased, [3] son of the viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries, Ahmose Turo, the deceased, [4] son of the viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries, Ahmose Sa-Tayit, the deceased» (fig. 26).

⁽¹⁾ Copied as *M.* by the Keepers of the British Museum, but from the view of the front of the statue (*Kush*, VII, pl. XV), the sign looks rather like the falcon.

⁽²⁾ Here, as well as in the other inscription, the *h*tp-sign is erased, while the names of the divinities are left untouched.

Such are the inscriptions on the statue of Teti; it gives us for the first time the name of a viceroy, who was perhaps the first to be appointed to this important post. But the relation of this viceroy to the rest of his family was not always clear. The authorities of the British Museum, who were the first to publish its inscriptions, speak of the owner in the following words : «On the back are the names of his son, the Scribe of the Divine Offerings of Amen, Aahmes-Patena, with those of the Son of the King's Son and Governor of the Lands of the South, Aahmes-Ture, and the Son of the King's Son and Governor of the Lands of the South, Aahmes-Sa-Atait, all deceased. Early XVIIIth Dynasty»⁽¹⁾. Gauthier did not approve this point of view; he thought that the names of the people enumerated in the three vertical lines

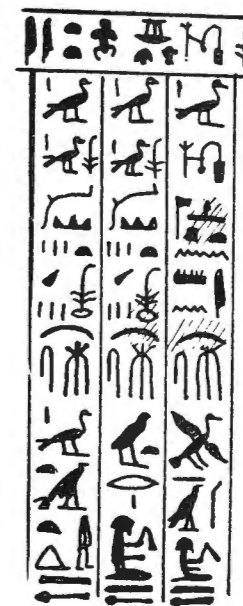



Fig. 26. — Back of the statue of Teti.

were rather those of the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of the owner of the statue, though he admitted that this was not certain⁽²⁾.

Luckily another statue of one of the members of the family can settle this question. This statue was found by Naville towards the beginning of the present century in the debris from the Mortuary Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir El-Bahari. Since then it was left at the foot of the Temple until last year when we transferred it to our storerooms in the Metropolitan Museum House nearby. Owing to the fact that it was found incomplete, with many parts of its inscriptions missing, it was not attributed to its proper owner, and its value was not duly appreciated. Naville speaks of it as : «Lower part of limestone statue. The man was called *Turo* , and seems to have been a very high dignitary».

⁽¹⁾ *Hieroglyphic Texts*, part V, p. 9.

⁽²⁾ «Les 'fils royaux de Kouch' et le personnel administratif de l'Ethiopie», *RT*, XXXIX, p. 183.

He gives also a fairly good copy of its inscriptions and a translation of the text on the right side⁽¹⁾. Because of the importance of our statue, we are here giving fac-similes of its inscriptions, completing in some cases what is missing.

The statue used to show a man sitting on a throne and dressed in a long garment reaching a little above the ankles. What still survives of the statue is the throne which is somewhat destroyed, and the parts of the legs below the knees. The statue is in sandstone⁽²⁾, 50 cm. high, 38 cm. broad and 53 cm. long; originally it was about a metre in height. Quite likely it was coloured, but only traces of blue colour are still to be seen on a few signs in the inscription and red on the body.

On the front of the throne, there was an inscription running vertically on each side, perhaps beginning with the top, continuing on the front, and ending on the top of the pedestal. But of these inscriptions, we have only the lower part of the one on the left; this reads: —

«... (after he inspected) the entire Medjaw, in as much as he was efficient in his (lord's) heart»⁽³⁾ (fig. 27). On the pedestal there were three inscriptions, the one on the front formed of three vertical lines, and one on each side formed of two lines. It is difficult to know for certain the relation between these inscriptions, since the one on the right side and a part of that on the front are now missing, while some of the surviving signs are somewhat destroyed. Still

it is not improbable that they formed one single text, beginning with the right side, continuing on the front and ending on the left side.

⁽¹⁾ *Eleventh Temple at Deir El-Bahari*, part III, pl. IX, C (a-f) and p. 8, (*Kush*, VII, pls. XVII, XVIII).

⁽²⁾ Described as made of limestone by NAVILLE, *ibid.*

⁽³⁾ For this inscription, see below p. 84 f.



Fig. 27.
Front of
the statue
of Turo.

The front has: —

«... worked in gold [2] ...⁽¹⁾ of the other time, causing ... [3] ... the strengthening of his name.... I reached [on the left side] ... : ... the Southern Countries as viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries, ... [2] my fault did not occur and my carelessness did not happen ... »⁽²⁾ (fig. 28).

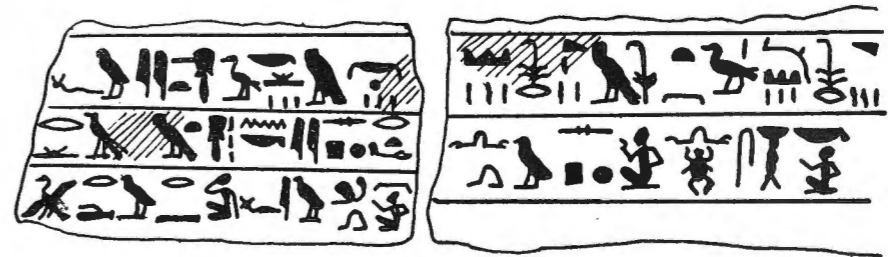


Fig. 28. — Pedestal of the statue of Turo.

On the throne, there are three inscriptions, two on the sides and one on the back. That on the right side used to have five lines, just like the one on the other side, but of these we have only the lower part of the last three. The first part, now missing, should have had the *di-nsw-htp* formula, while the second one, still surviving, luckily contains the name of the owner and his son. This reads: —

«[3] ... (in the daytime) of every day to the ka of the viceroy, [4] (and overseer of the Southern Countries⁽³⁾, Ahmose, called Turo; being what is made by his son, who makes [his] name to live [5] (the scribe of the divine offerings of Amun⁽⁴⁾ Ahmose)⁽⁵⁾, called Patheni, venerated through the great god» (fig. 29).

⁽¹⁾ In the previous line there was a mention of a statue of an animal made in gold. Perhaps here there was mention of similar objects, all given as rewards to the viceroy.

⁽²⁾ The last sentence copied in the facsimile given by Naville as *ph.n.i.*

⁽³⁾ Restored from L. 1 of the inscription on the right side of the throne, see below.

⁽⁴⁾ Restored from L. 5 of the same inscription.

⁽⁵⁾ We restored the names of the man and his son from the inscriptions on the statue of Teti described above.



Fig. 29. — Right side of the statue of Turo.

On the back, there are seven columns, of which the top is missing. These read : —

«(May the king give offerings to Amen)re, lord of the Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, and to Thoth, lord of [2] (Ashmunein⁽¹⁾, that) they (may give) invocation consisting of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster vases and clothing, incense and ointment, [3] ve(getables and fruits), offerings of meat

⁽¹⁾ Thoth may have been given here any other title, but we preferred his main title showing him as «lord of Ashmunein», as Amun was given his main title as «Lord of Karnak».

and drink (?)⁽¹⁾ and pieces of meat, namely every good and pure thing [4] (on which a god lives), which the heaven gives, the earth creates and Hapi brings [5] (from) his ca(ve), breathing the sweet breeze of the North,

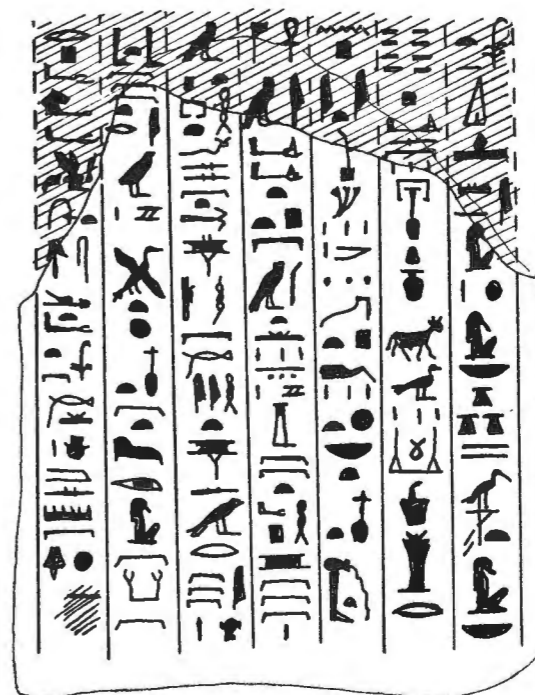


Fig. 30. — Back of the statue of Turo.

drinking on [6] (the shore) of the river and a good bread-offering of Osiris to the ka of [7] (the prince and governor, the chan(cellar) of the king of Lower Egypt)⁽²⁾ the sole friend, the One who fills the heart of the king in embellishing me (?)»⁽³⁾ (fig. 30).

⁽¹⁾ The sign is known to have had the value of *hn*. Because some words are not properly inscribed, we think that this is an error for *hnk* which is expected here.

⁽²⁾ These titles are restored from the inscription of the same man in the Island of Uronarti, see below.

⁽³⁾ Here there are traces of the sitting man, but we expect here something like *smnh mnw.f*, see below (p. 85 footnote).

On the left side of the throne are the lower parts of five columns; these read :

«(Giving adoration to Osiris by the viceroy and the overseer of the (Southern) Countries [2] (Ahmose, call)ed Turo, [he says]⁽¹⁾ : 'Hail to thee O Osiris [3] (the foremost of the Westerners)⁽²⁾, the chief in Busiris, the Great One in [4] (Abydos, the sover)eign, lord of eternity, mayest thou grant that I should go in and out laden [5] (with thy praises?)⁽³⁾, by his beloved son, who makes his name to live, the scribe of the divine offerings of Amun' » (fig. 31).

Before speaking of the importance of this statue and its owner, it may be of interest to point out how some words are omitted or improperly written in the inscriptions. As we have seen, on the left side we should expect *Dd.f* after the name *Twri* (L. 2), while in L. 4 we have *itp* instead of *ꜥtp*. On the back in L. 7, we get *nsw mh ib m smnhꜥ*, which should have been *mh ib n nsw m smnh mw.f*. A strange feature can be noticed in this statue, and that is the absence of the name of the owner or that of his son after their titles. This can be seen at the back of the statue, where we have the titles of the owner, but not his name, and on the left side, where we have the titles of the son, but not his name. It is improbable that these inscriptions were continued on the missing parts of the statue and that the names were then found in these parts⁽⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Usually these words precede the expression «Hail to thee ...».

⁽²⁾ It is indeed difficult to know the exact missing words here. We restored this from such texts as BUDGE, *The Book of the Dead* (1898), 452, 4 (Chapter CLXXIII), where we have *Dwꜥ Wsir hntiw imntiw ntr ꜥ nb 'Ibdw ...*

⁽³⁾ Though *ꜥtp* is not inscribed correctly, there is no doubt that it is the word meant here. 'I replaces ꜥ in many words, see for example *Wb* I, 12 : 2, also *ꜥht* and *ihꜥ*, *ihm* and *ꜥhm* on the same page. The variant we have here of *itp* is known from the Greek period, *Wb* I : 15. The word following could be *m hstw n ntr nfr*, see statue no. 11635 of Berlin Museum, where we have *ꜥ prt m ht-ntr-f hr hstw n ntr nfr*.

⁽⁴⁾ The missing inscriptions are to be found on the left side of the front of the throne and on the pedestal. But on the former part we expect to find the beginning

In spite of these faults and the unusual omission of the names, there is no doubt whatever that the statue was made for the viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries, Turo; his titles are found on the left side of the pedestal and on the back of the throne, while these



Fig. 31. — Left side of the statue of Turo.

titles followed by the name are met on the right and left sides of the throne. The titles of the son are to be found on the left side of the throne, while his name is in the surviving part of the inscription on the right side. Here he is referred to as «... called *Patheni*» while his father also is spoken of here and on the left side as «... (call)ed *Turo*»; thus showing that these were surnames rather than names of these

of the biographical inscription speaking of such things as presents given to Turo. On the latter part there may have been some titles of this viceroy, and the inscription may have been continued on the front and the other side of the throne.

persons. They should be the same persons found in the first two columns on the back of the statue of Teti; the surnames and titles are the same. But on our statue, it is clearly stated that the statue was made for the viceroy Turo by his son the scribe of the divine offerings of Amun, Patheni. This shows that Patheni is to be considered as the son of Turo and on this basis we can conclude that Ahmose Sa-Tayit was his grandfather and Teti was his son.

Patheni, his son Teti and grandson Hori (?) were working as scribes of the divine offerings of Amun; but it seems that other members of the family occupied the same post. This is proved by a headless statue discovered also by Naville at the beginning of the present century in the debris of Mentuhotep's Temple in Deir El-Bahari, but of which the present position is unknown. Naville gives a brief description of it, with a view of the front and a facsimile of its inscription, which we reproduce here. According to the view he gives, the owner was shown in the same position as Teti in his statue. He does not give its dimensions, but he tells us that it is made of black granite⁽¹⁾. The inscription, found on the front, reads :

«May the king give offerings to Amenre, king of the gods, pre-eminent in 3h-ist [2] and to Hathor, mistress of the Necropolis and to Osiris, lord of eternity [3] that they may grant an invocation formed of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster vases and clothing, incense and ointment, all offerings of meat and drink, of vegetables and fruits, [4] (namely) all good and pure things on which a god lives [5] and breathing the sweet breeze of the North to the ka of [6] the scribe of the divine offerings of Amun, Ahmose, the deceased, [7] called Pathen(i); [8] [made] by his son who makes his name to live, the scribe [9] of the divine offerings of Amun, Amenemhab⁽²⁾» (fig. 32).

⁽¹⁾ *Op. cit.*, pl. VIII A and p. 2. Unluckily the view represented is so small and unclear that we found it useless to reproduce it here.

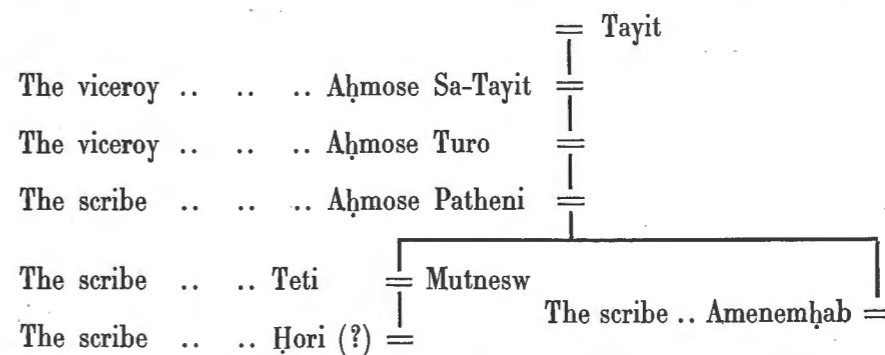
⁽²⁾ The copy given by Naville is a fairly good one, but it has to be remembered that it contains a few faults which we corrected here. Such is the case with the sign *ss* (*Sign-List*, V 6) written as Z 9 (L. 3), the sign *hnkt* (W 39) written as W 37 (L. 3). It is to be noted that the determinative of *htp*-sign is written in different ways in L. 6 and 9.

This statue was thus made for Ahmose Patheni by his son Amenemhab, who was like his father, his brother Teti and nephew Hori (?), a scribe of the divine offerings of Amun. Patheni's father and grandfather



Fig. 32. — Front of the statue of Patheni.

were more important; each occupied the post of «viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries». Here is the genealogy of the family⁽¹⁾ :



⁽¹⁾ Many people at the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty were given the namesake of the founder of this dynasty. This led many among those who bore that name to take for themselves a surname, by which they were more known than by the original one. That surname was not an abbreviated form of the name, such as Huy for Amenhotep, Maḥu for Amenemhab, see ERMAN, *AZ*, XLIV, pp. 87 ff. Quite likely the first recorded viceroy was called Sa-Tayit after the name of his mother.

On the statue of Patheni is an invocation to Amun, described as king of the gods and pre-eminent of *3h-ist*. The first title is known for the god everywhere, but the latter one shows him as adored in the Funeral Temple of Mentuhotep. Apart from this god, Hathor, as mistress of the Necropolis, and Osiris, as lord of eternity, are also invoked. On the statue of Turo made by his son Patheni is a litany to Osiris, and an invocation to Amun and to Thoth. Most probably there was on the missing part an invocation to other divinities, such as Hathor.

All these divinities are known to have been specially adored in the area occupied by the temples in Deir El-Bahari, where many statues, mostly from the beginning to the middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty, were found⁽¹⁾. It is to be noted that in that period a temple for Hathor was built close to the north of the Mortuary Temple of Mentuhotep. This temple was called *Dsr iht* and was most probably built by Amenophis I, destroyed by Hatshepsut, when building her Funeral Temple, and then rebuilt by Tuthmosis III⁽²⁾. In this temple Amun, Hathor, and the other divinities adored in the Funeral Temple of Mentuhotep were also worshipped. Naville claimed that the statues of Patheni and Turo were found in the latter temple, but this is quite close to the former and it is difficult to say in which of the two temples they were standing. It may be asked if the statue of Teti was not found in one of these temples. This statue was made by a scribe of the divine offerings of Amun, who was a member of the same family, who erected two statues in the same temple. It contains also an invocation to Amun, who was

⁽¹⁾ Many statues of the XVIIIth Dynasty were found by Naville in Deir El-Bahari, *op. cit.*, pp. 2 ff. and pls. VIII, IX (not included in PORTER-MOSS, II); others now in the British Museum are noted to have come from the same place, see *Hiero. Texts*, part V, pl. 24, p. 8 (40961, 40964). On these statues are the names of these divinities; only Thoth is never found, but he may have been mentioned on the statue of Turo because he had got a temple in the vicinity, PORTER-MOSS, II, 113.

⁽²⁾ For the temple built by Amenophis I, then destroyed by Hatshepsut, see WINLOCK, *Excavations at Deir El-Bahari* (1911-1931), pp. 88, 208; for the temple of Tuthmosis III, see pp. 80-1, 203.

among the chief divinities of the place, and to Horakhti, known to have been worshipped there also⁽¹⁾. That the *htp*-sign is engraved at the top of the front of the statue seems to show that the statue was not standing in a tomb, but rather in a temple where he could claim «offerings», which are usually given in such buildings⁽²⁾.

If indeed this statue was also standing in Deir El-Bahari, it is quite likely that its owner Teti, his son Hori (?), his brother Amenemhab, and his father Patheni were all working in this temple. All of them were scribes of the divine offerings of Amun, who had a special cult in the place. Other scribes of the divine offerings were attached to other temples, which are sometimes explicitly mentioned at the end of the title⁽³⁾. It has to be noted that Teti had many titles, some of which related him with the cult of Amun, but others connected him to that of Ptah and Horus. Whether he carried out these duties also in Deir El-Bahari is a question very difficult to answer⁽⁴⁾. Still it can be said with certainty that he was an important person, judging by the numerous titles he held.

But more important were his grandfather and his great grandfather. Both of them occupied the very important post of «the viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries». It is not known when officials were first appointed to that post, but it may be assumed that this happened when the rulers of Thebes succeeded in liberating the country from the foreigners and could establish peace in Nubia. It was important

⁽¹⁾ Compare NAVILLE, *op. cit.*, pl. V, 4, 5, VIII Fb.

⁽²⁾ See ENGELBACH, *ASAE*, XXXVII, pp. 1 ff. and plate where he published a statue purchased by the Cairo Museum and coming from Elephantine. This statue has on one hand the word *htp* and on the other the word *df*. No tomb is found on the Island and the statue should have come from one of the temples which used to stand there. In placing it in the temple, the owner was hoping to take a part of the offerings to be placed there.

⁽³⁾ Such as in the case of a certain Menkheper, who was «the scribe of the divine offerings of Amun in *Hnkt-nh*, *Urk.* IV, 1205 (L. 12).

⁽⁴⁾ Undoubtedly there were cults of such divinities in Karnak, perhaps, also in other temples on the other side.

then to replace the rulers with representatives of the king⁽¹⁾. It is known that Ahmose Turo was appointed to his post not later than the seventh year of the reign of Amenophis I⁽²⁾. His father most probably assumed his function under Ahmose I, if not in the reign of his brother and predecessor, king Kamose. These kings undoubtedly felt the necessity of having a representative to look after the Southern Countries. Before the publication of the statue of Teti, Turo was considered to be the first viceroy appointed in Kush. Nothing else has appeared mentioning the name of the father, and the statue of Teti is still the only document mentioning that name. But it may be asked if he was not responsible for carving the graffito of Toshke enumerating the cartouches of both Ahmose I and Kamose. Under these cartouches are the words: «*King's son*», preceded and followed by some unclear signs. If the name of a viceroy was carved here, it may be that of Ahmose Sa-Tayit, who would have been the first viceroy appointed to such a post. But such a hypothesis cannot be accepted before the graffito is found again and re-examined⁽³⁾.

Was this Ahmose the son of Ahmose I, as suggested by Gauthier? When Reisner wrote his two articles about «*The viceroys of Ethiopia*», he said: «*I can discover no evidence that any viceroy of Ethiopia was ever a prince of the blood royal*»⁽⁴⁾. But when Gauthier later discussed the same subject, he commented on the statue of Teti, saying that the first viceroy was the son of the founder of the XVIIIth Dynasty and that would explain why his successors were called kings' sons⁽⁵⁾. But

⁽¹⁾ Säve-Söderbergh, in studying a passage in the newly discovered Stela of Kamose (*Kush* IV, pp. 54 ff.), says that there was a family of Nubian kings who remained for more than one generation before the conquest of this land by Kamose, cf. pp. 58-9. After such conquest, the Egyptian kings found it important to appoint a representative; a policy which lasted till the end of the XXth Dynasty.

⁽²⁾ See below p. 82 and note 5.

⁽³⁾ The only record of this important graffito is in WEIGALL, *Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, pl. 65, 4 and p. 127. We tried to find out this graffito, but have not succeeded yet, see SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *op. cit.*, p. 57 and note 14.

⁽⁴⁾ *JEA*, VI, pp. 28 ff. and 73 ff., cf. 84.

⁽⁵⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 185.

Teti's son would have undoubtedly mentioned that on the statue he dedicated to his father, if it were true. He has traced his ancestors to the fifth generation, and if Ahmose I was the father of the first known viceroy, he would have mentioned that. On statues of the XVIIIth Dynasty, only parents' names are usually given, but on the statue of Teti, his son was keen to show the names of his great predecessors. We believe, therefore, that the first known viceroy was not of royal blood. Kings' sons were not necessarily descendents of kings. As shown by Gauthier in his studies on «*Les fils royaux de Nekhabit (El-Kab)*»⁽¹⁾ and «*Les fils royaux de Ramsès*»⁽²⁾, and as we shall see in discussing persons who were described as «*the eldest son of Amun*»⁽³⁾, all these were not of royal families.

But if the first recorded viceroy was hardly known to us, we know so much about his son Ahmose Turo that we can follow his career in its important stages. Reisner mentioned six inscriptions with his name (*JEA*, VI, p. 29, a-f, referred to here as R. a-f) and Gauthier added four (*RT*, XXXIX, pp. 182 ff., 1-4, to which we shall refer as G. 1-4). We published above his statue coming from Deir El-Bahari, and we shall publish below a rock inscription, a scarab, and a cone. (These are spoken of here as L. 1-4 respectively).

Gauthier attributed to this viceroy the carefully carved inscription to the north of the Small or the Nefertari Temple at Abu Simbel. This reads:

«*Made by the scribe of the Temple, the god's father, the overseer of the cattle, the governor and the chief priest, Ahmose called Turo, the blessed*» (G. 1)⁽⁴⁾. We quite agree with Gauthier that this inscription belongs to Turo before he was chosen to replace his father in the post of viceroy, but

⁽¹⁾ *ASAE*, X, pp. 193 ff.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 245 ff.

⁽³⁾ We hope to publish a list of these when discussing «*the eldest son of Amun, Nakht and his tomb (No. 397 of the Theban Necropolis)*», see PORTER-MOSS, I, 2nd ed. (in press).

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, VII, 117 (2), cf. GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

we cannot follow him in his idea that he was working then at Abu Simbel⁽¹⁾. There is no evidence that any building was erected there before the two temples of Ramesses II, but it was in Buhen, where early monuments were built and where he himself worked later, that he assumed his function. The graffito of Abu Simbel reminds us of another carved on the cliffs near to the Temple of Haremhab in Abahûda which reads : «*the scribe of the temple, Turo*» (L. 2)⁽²⁾. These two graffiti seem to have been carved by Turo on one of his trips going to Buhen from Egypt or back⁽³⁾.

Reisner was undoubtedly right in attributing to Turo the graffito carved on the door of Ahmose I and his mother Ahhotep in Buhen. There he is described as : «*The commandant of the fortress of Buhen, Turo*» (R. a)⁽⁴⁾; thus showing him to have been working in this important place. Undoubtedly he was occupying that post and that of «*the scribe of the temple*», while his father was still working as viceroy.

But the first mention of Turo as viceroy was found in a graffito in Semna West, dated to the seventh year of the reign of Amenophis I. This inscription was only spoken of by Breasted, who refers to it in a few words saying that Turo was described there as : «*The king's son of the Southern Countries*» (R. b)⁽⁵⁾. It is not known why Turo left his inscription at Semna, but in the Island of Uronarti Amenophis I built

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 185, but see SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Aegypten und Nubien*, p. 197, note 7.

⁽²⁾ WEIGALL, *op. cit.*, p. 139 and MASPERO, *ASAE*, XI, p. 159 (PORTER-MOSS, *op. cit.*, 119). Maspero dates this graffito and another of a certain «*scribe of the temple, Harmosi*» to the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty, but it is rather to the beginning of this dynasty that they can be attributed.

⁽³⁾ Few are the temples of Nubia which date back to the XVIIIth Dynasty or earlier, but in the various places of this land we found graffiti from this dynasty or earlier. These were mostly written by people who passed by these places.

⁽⁴⁾ PORTER-MOSS, *op. cit.*, 130. There it is said that this door is tem. Tuthmosis I, but according to Reisner and Gauthier in their studies of the viceroys, it should date to the king with whose name it is inscribed, see also SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *op. cit.*, p. 144 and note 7.

⁽⁵⁾ «*Second Report ... (1908)*», *AJSL*, p. 108.

a temple and it was Turo who was charged with its erection⁽¹⁾. This can be concluded from the presence of a graffito in the neighbourhood reading⁽²⁾ :

«*Year 8 under the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Djeserkare', given life forever. The prince and governor, the chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, the One who fills the heart of the king in the Southern Countries as One whose dignity the lord of the Two Lands made (?)⁽³⁾, the viceroy, Turo*» (R. c). But if Turo was active in these remote places in the seventh and eighth years of the reign of Amenophis I, most likely he was already in his post for some years past. In Sai Island, Ahmose I, Amenophis I, and Tuthmosis I left some monuments and the second king is thought to have erected a temple there⁽⁴⁾. Quite probably it was Turo who was charged with erecting it for his sovereign.

When Tuthmosis I ascended the throne, he sent to Turo a decree announcing that event and informing him of the five names by which he was to be known. This decree has come down to us on two stelae, one of which was discovered in Qâbân, while a duplicate was found in Halfa. There he is addressed as :

«*The viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries, Turo ... [2] A king's decree to the effect that you are allowed to know that my Majesty l.p.h. appears as king of Upper and Lower Egypt on the throne of Horus of the living without ... forever, making his titular ...*» (R. d)⁽⁵⁾.

The next mention of the viceroy was recorded on the cliffs called Bibitagoug, on which graffiti mentioning the canal dug in the Cataract are engraved. There we find two graffiti signed by «*The viceroy, Turo*», and speaking of «*the navigation of his Majesty on this canal in power and*

⁽¹⁾ This temple was devoted to Dedwen and Monthu, see PORTER-MOSS, *op. cit.*, 143-4.

⁽²⁾ *Urk.* IV, 78 (29) from a copy by Steindorff.

⁽³⁾ For this expression see *Wb.* V, 89 : 10.

⁽⁴⁾ For the temple which was probably erected by Amenophis I and for the monuments left by him, Ahmose I and Tuthmosis I, see PORTER-MOSS, *op. cit.*, 164-5.

⁽⁵⁾ See *ibid.*, 84 and 141.

strength upon his return from overthrowing the vile Kush» (R. e)⁽¹⁾. In one of them it is added that the canal was also cleared. Speaking about Turo in our previous article about the viceroys, we have shown that he, «in his capacity of viceroy, must have supervised in the reign of Tuthmosis I the clearance of a canal and perhaps arranged for the campaign mentioned in the two graffiti»⁽²⁾.

Apart from these dated records, there are other undated monuments mentioning Turo as viceroy. Gauthier mentions two scarabs, each bearing the inscription : «*The viceroy, Turo*» (G. 4)⁽³⁾. He refers also to a statue which was standing in Kerma and of which the lower part was procured by the British Museum; this being inscribed by «*the overseer of the Southern Countries, Ahmose, called Turo*» (G. 3). The Keepers of the Museum dated the statue to the XIXth Dynasty⁽⁴⁾, but later Gauthier was right in attributing it to the viceroy Turo⁽⁵⁾. The title given to the owner of the statue is known to be one of the main titles given to many viceroys, especially the earlier ones⁽⁶⁾.

It cannot be known when the scarabs and the statue of Kerma were made; it can only be said that this occurred when Turo was still working as viceroy. The same can also be said about his statue, which was erected by his son in Deir El-Bahari (L. 1). On the front of the statue is an inscription on each side, but only the lower part of the one on the right side is still surviving. This reads :

«... (after he inspected) the entire Medjaw, in as much as he was efficient in his (lord's) heart». A typical text, found on the façade of the Temple

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, V, 250.

⁽²⁾ *Kush* V, pp. 15-16 (1, 2)(above p. 33 : 1, 2).

⁽³⁾ *RT*, XXXIX, p. 185.

⁽⁴⁾ *Guide to the British Museum, Sculpture*, (1909), p. 182 (653). In PORTER-MOSS, VII, 180, it is also attributed to the XIXth Dynasty; no mention is made of Gauthier's remark, see the following footnote.

⁽⁵⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁽⁶⁾ *JEA*, VI, p. 78, where it is shown that this title is only found with that of «viceroy», but this latter title might have been existing on the missing part of the statue.

of Tuthmosis III in Semna West, belongs to the viceroy Sen, the successor of Turo. There it is said that the king has favoured his viceroy after he inspected the entire *Medjaw* because of his efficiency⁽¹⁾. We cannot expect to find an exact text, since the statue was made by Turo's son and not by the king. Most probably it is said here that the king granted his viceroy some present or promotion⁽²⁾. This shows that he was still alive then and that he inspected the *Medjaw*, which word should stand for the land and not for the people or the policemen as it was taken later⁽³⁾. It is noteworthy that at the end of the inscription on the back of the statue, Turo is spoken of as «*the one who fills the heart of the king in embellishing (his monuments)*»⁽⁴⁾. Did this mean that he erected a building in the vicinity, or in Nubia? It is difficult to give an answer to this question, but it has to be remembered that Amenophis I erected a temple to Hathor in Deir El-Bahari and most likely the statue of Turo was placed in that temple by his son who was working there.

But other monuments and inscriptions were made after his death. The statue made by Teti's son Hori (?) could only have been done some time after his death (G. 2). It is made by his great grandson, who must have been already a grown up man to be able to dedicate such a monument; most probably it was made during the last years of the reign of Tuthmosis III or later.

⁽¹⁾ PORTER-MOSS, VII, 145-6, cf. REISNER, *op. cit.*, p. 29 (2 a-b) and *Urk.* IV, 39-41. This inscription was first attributed to Turo by BREASTED, *AR*, II, §§ 61-2, but it was rightly attributed to his successor by REISNER, *op. cit.*, and others. According to this inscription Sen was appointed viceroy in the reign of Tuthmosis I.

⁽²⁾ The presence of the phrase *nꜣt-n mnḥ.f hr ib* requires such a meaning. See SPIEGELBERG, *Aegy. Danksteine ... Munich*, 4, where we have : «*He gave it to me as commander of soldiers, by virtue of being efficient in (his) heart*». See also *Urk.* IV, 409, where we have it related that Senmut had to control the work in many places where he served and, at the end, it is said «*he ordered that I should be supervising it in as much as I was efficient in his heart*» (L. 16-17).

⁽³⁾ For the *Medjaw*, see GARDINER, *Onomastica*, I, pp. 75 ff., for the inscription of Sen with this same sentence, see p. 79.

⁽⁴⁾ For *smnḥ mnw*, see *Wb.* IV, 137 : 9.

that kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty should choose people from the capital for the important post of viceroy, especially at the beginning of the dynasty. Thus the second viceroy and perhaps also the first one came from the capital and their tombs should be sought in some part of the Theban Necropolis. We are enumerating here the titles and epithets of Turo.

𓆎𓆏𓆐	Scribe of the temple	G. 1 — L. 2.
𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕	God's father, overseer of the cattle, chief priest	G. 1.
𓆖	Governor	G. 1 — R. c — L. 1 (?).
𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛	Commandant of the Fort- thress of Buhen	R. a.
𓆜	Prince	R. c — L. 1 (?).
𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠	The chancellor of King of L.E. and the sole friend	R. c — L. 1.
𓆡𓆢	Viceroy	R. c, d, e, f — G. 2, 4 — L. 1.
𓆣𓆤𓆥	Overseer of the Southern Countries	R. d, f — G. 2, 3 — L. 1.
𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫	Viceroy of the Southern Countries	R. b — L. 3, 4.
𓆬𓆭𓆮-----	Trusty of the King -----	R. c — L. 1.

area of Deir El-Medineh. Maystre who published this statue (*Mélanges Maspero, Ancien Orient*, p. 663, see also HELCK in *JNES*, XIV, 31), says that perhaps one of his ushabtis, now in the Cairo Museum, came from here, and that Thebes was quite likely his original place. But we believe that he was rather from the district of Aswan, his name is formed with one of her main divinities as an element and he left many inscriptions in the district (*Kush V*, p. 22).



It is noteworthy that Turo is referred to on the cone, the scarab and in the inscription of Semna West as «*The viceroy of the Southern Countries*». The two main titles for viceroys, which appear independently on other monuments are shown here linked together. It seems that viceroys at the beginning were called «viceroys of the Southern Countries», as later they were called «viceroys of Kush» to show that they were concerned with this land.

CHAPTER V

FOUR OBJECTS BELONGING
TO VICEROYS OF KUSH
AND OFFICIALS ASSOCIATED WITH THEM

THE four objects published here are reported to have come from various sites in Nubia, but nothing definite is known of how they were found nor of the exact places in which they originally stood; even the general area in which one of them was reported to have been discovered can be shown to be probably incorrect. Still, it will be of interest to discuss them briefly as they add to our information about certain viceroys of Nubia and other officials associated with them in their duties, some of whom were unknown to us before.

(1) *A Statue of the Viceroy Ahmes Turo, said to come from Kerma.*

In my article about «The First Two Viceroys of Kush and their Family» which appeared in *Kush* VII, I mentioned the lower part of a statue of Ahmes Turo, now in the British Museum, and said to have come from Kerma⁽¹⁾. This piece is described in the Museum Guide as: «Lower portion of a seated sandstone figure of Aahmes  who was surnamed 'Thur'  a superintendent of the 'countries of the South', i.e. an officer in the Sudan, who flourished probably under the XIXth Dynasty. The text contains a prayer to Horus of Behen for sepulchral offerings. Found near Kerma, in the Sudan, XIXth Dynasty. Height 1 ft. 7 in., width 10 in. (no. 1279)»⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Pp. 58 f. (G 3), (above p. 84 f).

⁽²⁾ *Guide to the British Museum, Sculpture*, 1909, p. 182 (No. 653).

In the above-mentioned article, I stated my opinion that Gauthier (speaking of this statue in *RT*, XXXIX, p. 185) was right in attributing it to the viceroy Turo, who lived at the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty. He mentions the title «Overseer of the Southern Countries» given to Turo on this statue which is known to be one of the main titles held by viceroys of Kush, especially the earlier ones⁽¹⁾. After the publication of my article, I wrote to my friend, Harry James, asking him to send me a copy of all the titles held by the owner of the above statue. To my surprise, I found that among them was the title «King's son», showing him clearly to have been a viceroy. The title is mentioned twice, once on each side of the seat. I then asked Mr James to provide me with photographs of the two sides, which he kindly sent me with permission to publish them. I would like to express my warmest thanks to him and to Mr Edwards, the Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the Museum.

The statue is of sandstone, the surviving part being 25 cm. wide and about 50 cm. high; originally, it must have been nearly 80 cm. high. As can be seen from the views reproduced here⁽²⁾, it represents a man sitting on a cubical chair; the bust, feet and front of the seat are missing. The owner is shown dressed in a long garment reaching to the ankles. The form of the seat is the usual one, but the back is prolonged, to form a dorsal pillar for the statue.

On each side of the seat is a neatly carved inscription consisting of five horizontal lines. That to the (owner's) left (fig. 34) reads :

«May the king give offerings to Osiris, the foremost of the Westerners, and to Dedun, [2] pre-eminent in Nubia, that they may give splendour in heaven, power [3] on earth and justification in the Underworld⁽³⁾, going in and out as he likes without being stopped at [4] the door of the Duat (namely) to

⁽¹⁾ P. 59. In footnote 66 on the same page we noted that in *JEA*, VI, p. 78, it was shown that this title was only found with that of «viceroy», and we added that this latter title might have been on the missing part of the statue, (above p. 84 and footnote 4).

⁽²⁾ *Kush IX*, 1961, pl. XXVIII.

⁽³⁾ For these phrases see *Wb.*, I, 13 : 11.

the ka of the viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries Ahmes, called [5] Turo, engendered by the scribe of the offerings of Amun, Sayit, the blessed».



Fig. 34. — Statue of the Viceroy Ahmes Turo, said to come from Kerma (Left side).

The inscription on the other side (fig. 35) reads : *«May the king give offerings to Horus, lord of Buhen, and to the gods of the [2] Southern Elephantine that they may give an invocation offering consisting of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster (vases) and clothing, incense and ointment and everything that goes forth [3] on their offering tables during the daytime of every-day (namely) all the good and pure things [4] on which a god lives to the ka of the viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries [5] Ahmes, called Turo, born of the mistress of the house, Satioh, the blessed».*

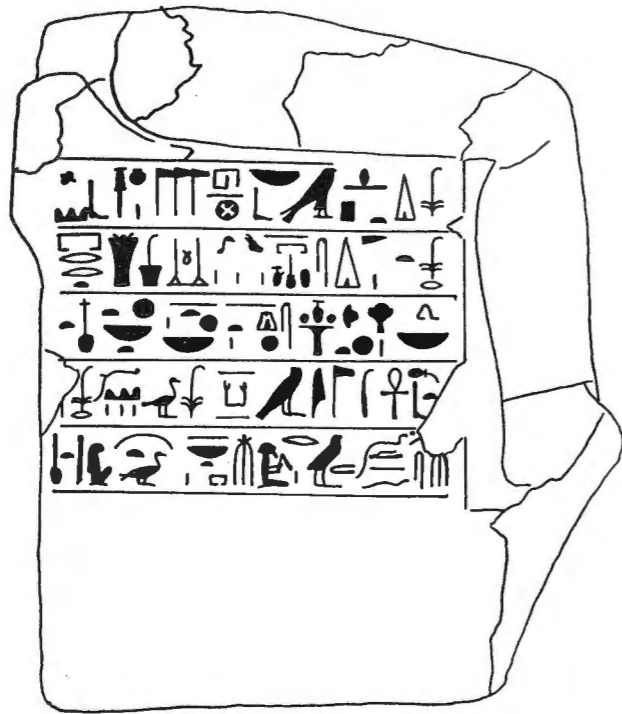


Fig. 35. — Statue of the Viceroy Ahmes Turo, said to come from Kerma (Right side).

According to the registers of the British Museum, this statue was presented to the Museum by G. Page, Esq., in 1898⁽¹⁾. Undoubtedly, it was the donor who indicated the provenance of the statue as being Kerma but we are bound to examine the matter in order to determine whether this information fits with what we know about Ahmes Turo in general and with the inscriptions on the statue in particular. One of the two inscriptions mentions Osiris, qualified as «foremost of the Westerners» together with Dedun, pre-eminent in Nubia, while the other refers to Horus, lord of Buhen, and to the gods of the Southern Elephantine. This latter place-name was considered by Gauthier to

⁽¹⁾ *Guide to the British Museum, Sculpture*, 1909, p. 182.

designate in one instance the site of Semna⁽¹⁾ and in another the town of Buhen⁽²⁾. Our statue likewise mentions Horus, lord of Buhen, the important town situated at the second cataract where Turo, at that time holding the position of commandant of the fortress of Buhen, left on a door a graffito of King Ahmose and his mother, Ahhotep⁽³⁾. Furthermore, a copy of the decree announcing the ascension of Tuthmosis I to the throne and addressed to Ahmes Turo, now viceroy of Nubia, was found in Wadi Halfa⁽⁴⁾. It came, no doubt, originally from Buhen or the close vicinity.

On the other hand, a graffito of Ahmes dated to the seventh year of Amenophis I has been discovered at Semna as well as a scarab inscribed with his name which was reported to have been found in one of the tombs at the same site⁽⁵⁾. Dedun, who also appears on our statue, was one of the most important divinities of this place where there existed a temple dedicated to him and to Sesostris III⁽⁶⁾. Another temple dedicated to Dedun and Montu was built at Uronarti where Turo has likewise left a graffito⁽⁷⁾. With all these factors in mind, therefore, it becomes improbable that the statue forming the subject of this article should have come originally from Kerma; very possibly it stood either in Buhen or, even more probably, in Semna, where so many monuments of the viceroy have been discovered.

Our statue mentions the names of the parents of the viceroy. His father, called Sayit, is found here for the second time; the only instance hitherto known of him was on the statue 888 in the British Museum representing his great-grandson, Teti. But there he is called Ahmes, surnamed Satayit, and is described as : *Viceroy and overseer of the Southern Countries*⁽⁸⁾, while on our statue he is referred to by his surname only

⁽¹⁾ *Dic. géogr.*, I, p. 3.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 207.

⁽³⁾ *Kush VII*, p. 57 (R, a), (above p. 82 footnote 4).

⁽⁴⁾ *Kush VII*, p. 58 (R, d), (above p. 83 footnote 5).

⁽⁵⁾ For these, see *ibid.*, p. 57 (R, b) and p. 60 (L, 3) respectively, (above p. 86).

⁽⁶⁾ PORTER-MOSS, *Bibliography*, VII, pp. 145 ff.

⁽⁷⁾ PORTER-MOSS, *Bibliography*, VII, p. 143.

⁽⁸⁾ *Kush VII*, p. 47, fig. 2 and pl. XVI, (above p. 69 and fig. 26).

and is given the title : *Scribe of the divine offerings of Amun*. There is no doubt that the former titles are more important than the latter, but for some reason his son referred to him by the less important title. Perhaps it was because of the shortage of space that the other titles and the name itself were omitted. It is to be noted that the title given to Sayit here : *Scribe of the divine offerings of Amun*, was borne by most of the members of his family ⁽¹⁾.

In my article already referred to, I outlined the family tree of Ahmes Satayit for six generations ⁽²⁾. Now we can add to this tree the name of his wife, Satioh, the mother of the viceroy Ahmes Turo. It is noteworthy that the names of most of the members of this family are formed with the word *ioh*, meaning «the moon».

(2) *Lintel of the Deputy of the Viceroy Merosiris (?), called Meh.*

When passing through Ed-Derr in 1958, I saw in the temple a block of sandstone with an inscription of several vertical lines, below which appears the upper part of a man with uplifted arms, wearing a wig and a robe. This should have been followed by a woman, probably his wife; both were most likely shown kneeling.

The inscription above is partly mutilated, but sufficient traces remain to show its importance. It reads (fig. 36) : «*Adoration to thy ka, O Amunre, [2] lord of the Two Lands* ⁽³⁾, *mayest thou give life, prosperity and health to the ka of [3] the deputy of the viceroy Merosiris (?),*

⁽¹⁾ Only his son Ahmes Turo was not shown on any monument as bearing that title, but his son, two grandsons and one of his great grandsons held that title, *ibid.*, pp. 46 ff., (above pp. 65 ff.).

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 54, (above p. 77).

⁽³⁾ Usually Amunre is given the title of *nb nswt t'wi*, as his main title was the «master of Karnak». But the title given to him here shows him as king of Egypt. This title is not given so often to the god, but it is found once on the Chapel of Sesostris I rebuilt by Chevrier; see LACAU-CHEVRIER, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, p. 73 (Sec. 8).

Meh; [4] his beloved sister, the chantress of Horus [5] ... mistress of [6] ...» ⁽¹⁾.

The block on which this inscription figures is of sandstone, perhaps of local origin. It is 55 cm. wide, 60 cm. high and about 20 cm. thick.

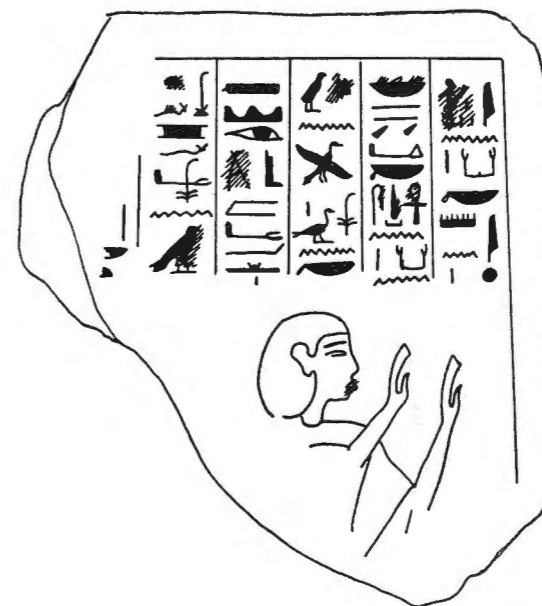


Fig. 36. — Lintel of the deputy of the Viceroy Merosiris (?) called Meh.

Its back is rough and shows that it was probably cut from the surface of one of the cliffs. Thus it was very possibly originally a graffito. Our inquiries about its original location were unfruitful, but in all probability it was found in the vicinity. Judging from the inscriptions and the attitude of the persons depicted on it, it is clear that it must have been carved opposite a figure of Amunre or in a place sacred to that god, as only under such conditions would we be likely to find a relief

⁽¹⁾ The wife of Meh is referred to here as «chantress of Horus», most probably described as master of one of the places sacred to the god in North Nubia. It seems that she was attached at the same time to one of the goddesses of this area, perhaps Isis or Hathor, also described as mistress of one of the sites of that land.

of a man in adoration accompanied by the inscription : *Adoration to thy ka, O Amunre ...* ⁽¹⁾.

The person depicted here is described as the «deputy» or *wakil* of a viceroy unknown to us before. The name of this viceroy is formed with that of Osiris as one of its elements, but the second element is not quite clear; faint traces suggest the sign *mr* ⁽²⁾. This viceroy, as I have said, is unknown until now and it is difficult to determine under which king he served. But a *wakil* by the name of Meh is already known to us. He has left a graffito in Gebel Tingar on the western side of the Nile to the south of Elephantine Island. There he is shown behind Usersatet, who acted as viceroy under Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV, and is described as : «*The wakil of the viceroy Usersatet, called Meh*» ⁽³⁾. If this man is the same as the one responsible for carving our block, Merosiris (?) would have held the position of viceroy directly before or after Usersatet. In the former case, Merosiris (?) would have served Amenophis II and perhaps also Tuthmosis III, and in the latter case he would have lived under Tuthmosis IV. It is to be observed that all of these kings commanded works at the temple of Amada ⁽⁴⁾, opposite the place where the block was found.

⁽¹⁾ As a matter of fact, there is a niche about 200 m. to the north of Ed-Derr Temple, where a king is shown adoring three divinities with Amunre at their head on the upper register and a kneeling person in the lower one, see PORTER-MOSS, VII, pp. 89 f. Nothing is left of the inscriptions to show us in what period the niche was carved, but it is not improbable that our block was once standing near to that niche.

⁽²⁾ The name of Osiris was never used as a personal name, but names formed with that of the god as an element, such as Osiris-onkh are found. See RANKE, *Personennamen*, I, 84 : 21 ff. and 85 : 1 ff.

⁽³⁾ *Kush* V, p. 21 (11), fig. 6 and pl. VI, (above p. 41, fig. 13). It is quite probable that Merosiris served as viceroy after Usersatet; this viceroy and others working before him were never given the title of «Viceroy of Kush» given to Merosiris. Only during the reign of Tuthmosis IV and later are viceroys given that title. See DRIOTON-VANDIER, *L'Égypte*, p. 464, (but see below p. 160, footnote 5).

⁽⁴⁾ PORTER-MOSS, VII, pp. 65 ff. It is to be noted that many graffiti were carved by viceroys on the walls of this temple, but all these are of a date later than that of the temple.

(3) *Lintel of the Viceroy Huy and the Governor Panmehyt.*

In March 1956, my friend Thabit Hassan Thabit, then Senior Inspector of Antiquities in the Republic of the Sudan, was kind enough to invite me together with the officials and experts of the Centre of Documentation working on the Great Temple of Abu Simbel, to see the monuments of Wadi Halfa and its environs. In his company we visited the newly discovered part of the tomb of Debeira, the Halfa Museum and the temples of Buhen. I noticed then, among the contents of the Hatshepsut temple at the latter site, the lintel which forms the subject of this paragraph. As it contained several points of interest, I asked Dr Vercoutter for permission to publish it and at a later date I requested Sayed Nagm Ed-Din of Halfa to verify some signs for me. Both of them were so kind as to afford me what I wanted and it is a pleasure for me to extend to them my best thanks.

The surviving part of the lintel is 30.5 cm. high and 78.5 cm. wide. The lower part of the lintel and the half to the (spectator's) left are missing; when complete it was almost double its present height and breadth. In the centre was the sky-sign above the prenomen and nomen of a king, both surmounted by sun-discs. On each side was an inscription formed of several vertical lines, under which were shown the figures of two kneeling persons with uplifted arms. Only a part of the sky-sign, one sign in one of the cartouches, a part of the inscription to the right and the hands and head of the first figure on this side still survive.

The inscription to the right reads (fig. 37) : «*Giving adoration to thy ka (O victorious king) ... [2] to the ka of the viceroy [3] of Kush, [4] Huy [5] to the ka of [6] the governor [7] Panmehyt*».

This lintel was said to have been found a short time before I inspected it in 1956 to the north of the Hatshepsut temple. It undoubtedly at one time formed part of a doorway erected by the governor Panmehyt. As an official attached to the viceroy Huy, he was eager to show himself on the doorway which he had erected, following his chief, both of them being in adoration before the cartouches of the reigning king. The governor Panmehyt was heretofore unknown, but we can determine



the period at which he lived by his association with a viceroy named Huy and a king whose name can be deduced from the unique surviving sign in the cartouche on the central part of the lintel.

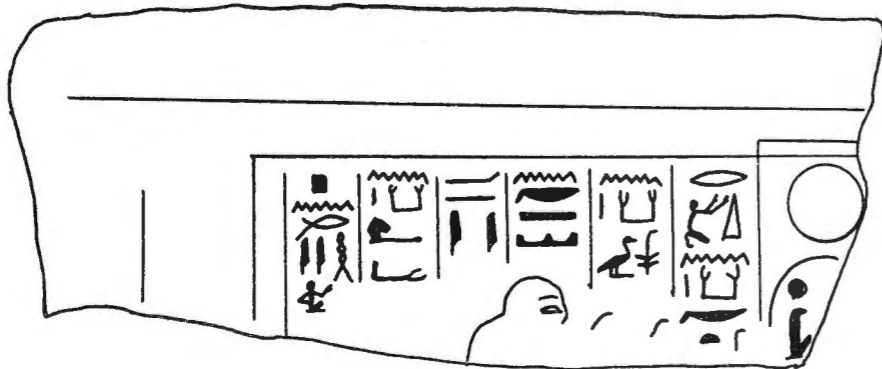


Fig. 37. — Lintel of the Viceroy Huy and the Governor Panmehyt.

In my article in *Kush* V, pp. 13 ff., about «The Graffiti and Work of the Viceroys of Kush in the Region of Aswan», it was shown that the four graffiti inscribed by a viceroy Huy on the Island of Sehel should be attributed to the viceroy of that name who served under Ramesses II and not to his homonym who lived in the time of Tutankhamen. To prove this, we pointed out that the cartouches of Ramesses II in these graffiti are original and that there are no traces of erasures in them; also that the style used in carving them is the same as that used in carving the rest of the inscriptions. We were likewise able to attribute to the same viceroy a fifth inscription, this one carved near the military road leading from Aswan to Philae⁽¹⁾. There existed, consequently, two viceroys named Huy, the first called Amenhotep and surnamed Huy who served Tutankhamen, and the second, the official of Ramesses II. Which of the two is the man mentioned on the lintel of Panmehyt?

Nothing is left of the two cartouches in the middle of the lintel except for one sign : a hawk-headed god with a sun-disc on his head. This is

⁽¹⁾ For these inscriptions, see *Kush* V, pp. 28 ff. (25-29), (above pp. 51 ff. and figs. 17-21).

certainly the god Re. But although the prenomen of Tutankhamen begins with the Re-sign, it is never written with this hieroglyph. It is written, on the contrary, only with the sun-disc. The nomen of Ramesses II, on the other hand, is almost always written with this sign facing a similar figure of Amun⁽¹⁾. Thus the cartouches of the king figured on the lintel of Panmehyt were those of Ramesses II. That Panmehyt should erect a doorway in Buhen shows his close association with that place of which he was very probably governor. During the reign of Ramesses II, stelae inscribed with the name of this king and inscriptions of viceroys who served him were erected there⁽²⁾.

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the monuments made for the viceroy Huy who served Ramesses II and those made for his homonym who lived under Tutankhamen. The former viceroy was almost unknown to us before, whereas the existence of the latter was very well attested by his monuments, in particular the small temple which he built for his sovereign at Faras West⁽³⁾, and the tomb he erected for himself in Gurnet Murai opposite Luxor⁽⁴⁾; in fact these were by far the most important monuments known, belonging to the reign of Tutankhamen, before the discovery of his tomb. A broken sandstone statue found at El-Kab belongs to a «*Viceroy of Kush, Huy*». On it there are two inscriptions, in one of which is an invocation to the local goddess, Nekhabit⁽⁵⁾, but nothing shows to which of the two Huys it can be attributed. Other monuments of these two men are more easily attributable although the names of their sovereigns are not to be found on them. The most important of these is the stela, no. 17332, in the Berlin Museum. As it demonstrates the great importance of the

⁽¹⁾ This inscription is not so neatly carved as is the case with those from the reign of Tutankhamen.

⁽²⁾ PORTER-MOSS, VII, pp. 133 ff.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁽⁴⁾ PORTER-MOSS, I (2nd edition), i, pp. 75 ff. (Tomb No. 40).

⁽⁵⁾ LD, IV (Text), p. 42. This statue is said to have been found in the Temple of Amenophis III at El-Kab. It was attributed to Huy who served Tutankhamen, see *JEA*, VI, p. 36 (8 b), but this cannot be taken as certain.

viceroys Huy who served Ramesses II, we thought that it would be worth while to republish it here, with a photograph which was kindly provided by Dr M. Krause.

(4) *Stela (no. 17332) of Huy in the Berlin Museum.*

This is a round-topped stela of sandstone about 80 cm. high and 65 cm. wide. At the top are two *wꜥꜣt* eyes, between which are placed the sign of eternity, then the cup and the water-signs. Below, to the (spectator's) right, is a seated man opposite whom is a man standing. Between them is an offering table⁽¹⁾. The seated man is shown dressed in a wig, surmounted with a cone of fat, and a long garment reaching down to his ankles. In his left hand he holds a bouquet formed of a lotus flower and two buds, which he holds to his nose. In his right hand he grasps the object usually taken to be a handkerchief, here partly unfolded and very much resembling one. On the table are shown all kinds of offerings above, while underneath are represented two vases, upside down, with a papyrus flower wound about each one. The person on the left lifts his right arm in adoration towards the sitting personage, while his other hand holds one of the corners of the leopard skin which he is wearing. The faces of both persons seem to have been intentionally mutilated.

The inscriptions above both persons have been similarly mutilated but, luckily, enough traces are left to permit of certain readings. The inscription over the standing man reads (fig. 38): «*Performing (the ceremony of) : may the king give offerings, twice pure, [2] of every good and pure thing for the ka of [3] the viceroy Huy [4] by the draughtsman⁽²⁾, Kheti⁽³⁾, [5] made for⁽⁴⁾ Pameniu (?)*. The one above the sitting person reads: *The viceroy of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Countries, and [2] the overseer of the lands of gold of [3] Amun, Huy*».

⁽¹⁾ *Aeg. Inschr. Mus. Berlin*, II, pp. 212 f.

⁽²⁾ Copied as *sꜥ nswt*, see *ibid.*

⁽³⁾ Shown as two strokes and a reed, all hachured as being unclear, see *ibid.*

⁽⁴⁾ Shown as three strokes, but the context needs such a word.



Fig. 38. — Stela of Huy in the Berlin Museum (no. 17332).

In the lower register is an inscription consisting of five horizontal lines which reads: «*May the king give offerings to Amunre, master of the Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, to Thoth, pleased with Truth, to the Horuses pre-eminent in Wawat and to the gods [2] masters of Nubia, that they may give the receiving of offerings coming forth before (them) at the beginning*

of every season which happens in their temples [3] (namely) to the ka of the prince and governor, the viceroy, the highest authority in Nubia, the fan-bearer on the right of the King, the praised by the Good God, the chief of the archers, [4] the overseer of the horses, the deputy of his Majesty in the chariotry, the chief of the archers of Tharu, the royal messenger to every foreign land, [5] the one who comes from Khatti, who brings its Great One; a person who can report where it (Khatti) is, has never existed, the royal scribe, Huy».

As can be seen from the inscriptions on the upper register of this stela, it was made for the viceroy Huy by a draughtsman called Kheti⁽¹⁾. This latter man is shown standing before the viceroy, extending a hand towards him and holding in the other a part of a leopard skin which he is wearing. It is strange that a draughtsman should be depicted in such a dress; but he may have occupied the post of a priest as well. The name of the father of this man may have been Pameniu; a man of that name was also a draughtsman and lived under Ramesses II⁽²⁾.

The provenance of this stela is not certainly known but, as indicated by the registers of the Berlin Museum, it came from North Nubia. Judging by the inscriptions which figure on the stela, this appears to be true since the Horuses of Wawat and the gods of Nubia are invoked there. The Horuses of Wawat are those of Bak, of Miam and of Buhen, all of which places are in North Nubia⁽³⁾. On the other hand, the gods of *Ta-sty* are supposed to be those of Aswan and the region to the south






⁽¹⁾ This draughtsman is previously unknown to us. His name is hardly found during the N.K., but in the M.K. it was very popular. Many kings of the IXth and Xth Dynasties were given this same name. For the only case in which the name was given to a person in the N.K., see RANKE, *Personennamen*, I, p. 278 : II.

⁽²⁾ It is copied as Paser in *Aeg. Inschr. Mus. Berlin*, II, p. 213, but the standing man seems to lean somewhat forward and looks more like a herdsman (GARDINER, *Sign-List*, A 33). If this is true, the man should have been called Pameniu, which is the name of a draughtsman who lived under Ramesses II. See *CdE*, XXIX, 1954, p. 212 and fig. 26.

⁽³⁾ See SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Aegypten und Nubian*, pp. 201 f.

of that city, which was also included in North Nubia⁽¹⁾. With these divinities, Amunre lord of Karnak and Thoth described as «pleased-with-Truth» are invoked⁽²⁾. It is to be noted that these two divinities were worshipped in many places in Nubia, but it was at Abu Simbel that they were particularly adored. In the Great Temple, the king of the gods was worshipped together with Horakhti, and adjacent to the Great Temple, to the south, was a small chapel dedicated to Thoth⁽³⁾. Probably the stela was standing somewhere nearby. Graffiti and objects of many viceroys who worked under Ramesses II have been found near or in the Great Temple⁽⁴⁾.

The viceroy is here given many titles which are not to be found in the tomb of the viceroy of the same name who served Tutankhamen. Again the mention of the town of Sile and the Land of Khatti (see below) clearly point to the epoche of Ramesses II rather than to that of Tutankhamen. To show the importance of this man, I give here a list of his titles as they appear on his stela and on the five graffiti found in the region of Aswan.

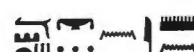



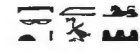

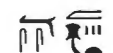

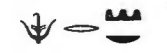

	Prince	Stela.
	Governor	Stela.
	Viceroy	Stela.
	Viceroy of Kush	Stela, gr. 25-29.
	Overseer of the Southern Countries	Stela, gr. 25-27.

⁽¹⁾ *T3-sti* or *Sti*, as it is written in L 3, stands for the Land of Nubia and sometimes for the first nome of Upper Egypt of which Elephantine was the capital.

⁽²⁾ For this title related with Thoth see BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, 760 (BOYLAN, *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt*, p. 193).

⁽³⁾ Called «South Chapel» in PORTER-MOSS, VII, pp. 96 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ Important inscriptions of the viceroys Yuny, Hekanakht, Setau and Paser II, who served Ramesses II, were encountered in or near the two temples of Abu Simbel, *ibid.*, pp. 117 f.

	Overseer of the Countries of gold of Amun	Stela.
	Fan-bearer on the right of the King	Stela, gr. 25, 26.
	The foremost authority in Nubia	Stela.
	Chief of the archers	Stela.
	Chief of the archers in Tharu	Stela.
	Overseer of the Stable of the Residence of the Hall- of-Audience-of-Ramessu- meramen	Gr. 25.
	Overseer of the horses	Stela.
	Deputy of the chariotry	Stela.
	Messenger of the king to the Foreign Lands	Stela, gr. 25, 26.
	Royal scribe	Stela, gr. 25, 27.

From this list of titles it can be clearly seen that Huy was a very important man. In addition to the usual titles describing him as «Prince» and «Governor», he is given many other titles which emphasize his distinguished position in Nubia. He is once styled «viceroy», and often referred to as «viceroy of Kush», the latter title being sometimes accompanied by the other honorary titles given to viceroys such as «Overseer of the Southern Countries», «Overseer of the Countries of Gold of Amun»⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ According to Reisner, this title is a variant of the previous title; *JEA*, VI, pp. 78-9.

and «Fan-bearer on the king's right». But he is also accredited with a very unusual title, or rather epithet, namely : «The foremost authority in Nubia»⁽¹⁾.

Very important also are the military titles attributed to him, these being more numerous and important than those given to any of his colleagues. On the stela, he is once styled «Chief of the archers» and once «Chief of the archers in Tharu», which latter title would associate him with the fortified town of Sile at the north-east frontier of Egypt. This town began to take an importance from the beginning of the New Empire, when the Pharaohs started to push their way towards the East⁽²⁾. But it was not until the accession of the kings of the XIXth dynasty to the throne that this town appeared in the titles of certain officials⁽³⁾. That Huy is here spoken of as «Chief of the archers in Tharu» is another proof that he did not live during the reign of Tutankhamen, but rather during that of Ramesses II⁽⁴⁾. This is confirmed beyond all doubt by the title which is found only in his graffito on the Military Road leading from Aswan to Philae, which refers to him as «Overseer of the Stable of the Residence of the Hall-of-Audience-of-Ramessu-meramen»⁽⁵⁾. This title connects Huy with a stable, perhaps in Piramesse, the Delta

⁽¹⁾ For *r' hry*, see *Wb.*, II, 390 : 6 and *Belegstellen*, but the title was not found in connection with Nubia.

⁽²⁾ For this town, see GAUTHIER, *Dic. géogr.*, VI, pp. 67 f. and GARDINER, *Onomastica*, A 419, where it is shown that this place-name was not found before Tuthmosis III.

⁽³⁾ See for example the Four Hundred Years Stela, where Piramesse and his son Seti are described as «chief of the archers» once, and as «overseer of the Fortress of Sile» once more. See MONTET, «La stèle de l'an 400 retrouvée», in *Kémi*, IV, pp. 191 ff.; HELCK, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, pp. 308 ff. and 446 ff. (21, 22).

⁽⁴⁾ In PORTER-MOSS, VII, p. 273, it is stated that it is *tem.* Tutankhamen, but in *Aeg. Inschr. Mus. Berlin*, II, p. 212, it is dated to the reign of Ramesses II. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *op. cit.*, p. 176 and footnote 13, on the other hand, referring to the stela, says that Huy may have served Ramesses II. I myself thought that this stela should be attributed to the reign of Tutankhamen, *Kush* V, p. 28, footnote 33, (above footnote 1 on p. 52).

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 28 (25), (above p. 51 : 25).

city not far from Sile. In addition, he held the important military titles of «Overseer of the horses» and «Deputy of the chariotry» which shows him to have been the chief of that section of the army ⁽¹⁾.

But the title naming him «Messenger of the king in every Foreign Land» seems to have been of particular importance to him. On the stela, this title is followed by the words: *The one who comes from the (Land of) Khatti, who brings its Great One*. By the Great One of the Land of Khatti, Mahornefrure, the daughter of the king of the Hittites ⁽²⁾, was undoubtedly meant and Huy would be, therefore, the man who accompanied the princess on her journey from her country to Egypt ⁽³⁾. Perhaps some time before the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Ramesses II, Huy was appointed as «Messenger of the king to the Land of Khatti» ⁽⁴⁾ and had the opportunity of coming back with the princess. Having taken part in this great event, he was anxious to record his participation on his stela. The following phrase underlines the importance of that event in speaking of him as «the one who reports where Khatti is has never existed» ⁽⁵⁾. Undoubtedly, he refers to the fact that he was the one who reported the arrival of the princess in Egypt

⁽¹⁾ For these two titles see *Onomastica*, A 94 and A 95 respectively.

⁽²⁾ Usually «the Land of Khatti» is considered to be masculine, but here the word for Land is omitted. There is no other way to take the *s* after *Wrt*. The name of the princess was usually read as *Mutnofrure* but MONTET in *Kémi*, V, p. 10 and GARDINER, *Ramesseide Administrative Documents*, 23 and 23 a, read it as *Maa-Hor-nofrure*.

⁽³⁾ For record of this marriage see KUENTZ, «La 'Stèle du Mariage' de Ramsès II», in *ASAE*, XXV, pp. 181 ff. Professor ČERNÝ, who has had the opportunity to examine the copies of this stela minutely in the last few years, is intending to give a detailed study of that important monument.

⁽⁴⁾ No mention is here given of the place where he was delegated as messenger, but from the words which follow, it is clear that he was stationed in the Land of Khatti. Some messengers were referred to as «the royal messenger to the Land of Khatti», such as the famous vizier Rahotep of the reign of Ramesses II; see HELCK, *op. cit.*, pp. 320 and 453.

⁽⁵⁾ For this phrase, see *Wb.*, I, 494 : 19 and 495 : 1. I owe the translation of this sentence to Sir Alan Gardiner.

to be conducted to his sovereign, an event which was interpreted by Huy as having been a great one, since nobody knew where the land of Khatti was.

It may be interesting to point out that four copies of the Marriage Stela recording this event are known to us; those of Karnak, Elephantine, Abu Simbel and Amara ⁽¹⁾. All these records, except that at Karnak, are found in the area controlled by the viceroy of Kush. But Karnak is exceptional in that it is supposed to have been a national shrine of the Empire where copies of important documents were preserved carved on the walls or on stelae set up within the temple area. It is quite possible, therefore, that it was Huy who proposed the carving of these copies of the marriage stela at the Nubian sites, or that it was he who was charged with carrying out that work. Such an idea would explain to us the fact that the person who dedicated our Berlin stela for Huy was a draughtsman; perhaps the same man who carved one of the copies in Nubia, possibly even that of Abu Simbel, if our guess about the stela coming from there is correct.

Huy is described as «the one favoured by the Good God». Though this is an epithet that is applied to many different officials, still taking into consideration the long list of titles borne by Huy, we can admit that in the present case it corresponds certainly to the facts. At the end of all his titles, Huy is finally described as «The royal scribe», a fact which seems to indicate that it was one of his main titles of which he was most proud. This is not strange as the title confers on its bearer the honour of being a man of letters.

Summing up what has been said about the four objects which form the subject of this article, it can be seen that the statue of Ahmes Turo in the British Museum should be attributed to the viceroy of that name. From the divinities invoked on the sides of the seat, it can be concluded

⁽¹⁾ Kuentz treated the first three copies. It was later that Fairman found fragments of the copy at Amara, see *JEA*, XXIV, p. 155 and XXV, p. 140. It is to be noted that the marriage of the king with the princess is referred to in the Inscription of Ptah at Abu Simbel, *LD*, III, p. 194; NAVILLE, *TSBA*, VII, 1882, pp. 119 ff., and BREASTED, *AR*, III, par. 394 ff.

that it stood at Buhen or more probably at Semna, but not at Kerma as was previously thought. From the lintel kept in the temple of Ed-Derr we learn of a hitherto unknown viceroy who was probably called Merosiris. Very probably he, together with his deputy Meh, lived during the reign of Amenophis II and Tuthmosis III or under that of Tuthmosis IV and took part in the building or the decoration of the temple of Amada situated opposite the place where the lintel is now kept.

The lintel of Buhen, on the other hand, acquaints us for the first time with the governor Panmehyt. This man worked with the viceroy Huy during the reign of Ramesses II. The lintel which he erected at Buhen and which originally formed part of a doorway, demonstrates his relationship to that place of which he may have been the governor. But most important is the stela, no. 17332 in the Berlin Museum, on which the viceroy Huy appears bearing many important titles, among them several which indicate the importance of the military posts held by him. He was likewise charged with the prominent position of «messenger of the king to Foreign Lands» and in this capacity he accompanied Mahornefrure when she came to Egypt to become the bride of Ramesses II. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest personalities who lived during the long and glorious reign of Ramesses II.

CHAPTER VI

MISCELLANEA ON VICEROYS OF KUSH AND THEIR ASSISTANTS BURIED IN DRA' ABU EL-NAGA', SOUTH

AT the beginning of the New Kingdom, the pharaohs, realizing the importance of the land of Nubia to Egypt's economic and political well-being, for the first time appointed officials to be in charge of that land. These officials, first called «*kings' sons*», then «*kings' sons of Kush*», were second to the king and, in some periods, were in charge, not only of Nubia, but also of a part of southern Upper Egypt.

Pharaohs came, in this period, from Thebes, and made it their capital. It was natural, then, that many of these important officials also came from the same town. Of these the following were undoubtedly buried in its necropolis :

1. Huy, viceroy of Tutankhamen, tomb No. 40 in Qurnet Mura'i;
2. Mermose, viceroy of Amenophis III, tomb No. 383, in Qurnet Mura'i;
3. 'Anhotep, viceroy of Ramesses II (?), tomb No. 300, in Dra' Abu el-Naga', South;
4. Setau, viceroy of Ramesses II, tomb No. 289, Dra' Abu el-Naga', South;

More were buried there, but the exact positions of their tombs are still unknown; these are :

5. Turo, viceroy of Amenophis I and Tuthmosis I. A statue of him was encountered at Deir el-Bahari; but more important are the funerary cones with his names discovered in the Theban Necropolis ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Labib HABACHI, *Kush* 7 (1959), pp. 57 ff, (above pp. 81 ff).

6. Seni, who served Tuthmosis I - Hatshepsut. He was the governor of the Southern City (Thebes) and some of his cones were also found ⁽¹⁾.
7. Nehi, viceroy of Tuthmosis III, whose tomb was seen by early travellers, but lost sight of. His sarcophagus and pyramidion were discovered in Thebes ⁽²⁾, and a ushabti of his was unearthed behind the Ramesseum ⁽³⁾.
8. An unknown viceroy, perhaps Amenemopet, who served Sethos I. Fragments of frescoes were found in the Tomb of Kheruef (No. 192), one having the words: «... of Kush», a second with the name of a person beginning with «Amen ...» ⁽⁴⁾.

Apart from these, Usersatet, who served Amenophis II, was said to have been buried in Thebes, but this is not certain ⁽⁵⁾. In the following lines, we are publishing a few unknown or little known objects of some of the viceroys and their assistants who were buried in Dra' Abu el-Naga', South, which seems to have been one of the two places favored by these people for carving their tombs. More interest has been directed recently to these officials who played an important role in the history of Egypt, especially in its relations with the South in the New Kingdom.

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 61 and n. 80, (above p. 87 footnote 5). We found a cone of that viceroy in the tomb of Panehsi (No. 16) and others in the neighbourhood. Most probably this viceroy carved his tomb in Dra' Abu el-Naga', South.

⁽²⁾ *PM*, I, 1960, p. 461 (D 1).

⁽³⁾ Fl. PETRIE, *Six Temples in Thebes* (1897), pp. 4, 21, and pl. II, fig. 1, (above footnote 6 on p. 87).

⁽⁴⁾ The tomb from which these fragments came may be lying in the neighbourhood. According to the inscriptions, it may also have belonged to one of the assistants of a viceroy. But the beauty of the decoration points rather to someone important, like a viceroy. See Labib HABACHI, *ASAE* 55 (1958), p. 333, pl. V b.

⁽⁵⁾ Ch. Maystre, publishing a statue of this viceroy from Deir el-Medineh, spoke of a ushabti of unknown provenance, suggesting that the tomb of this viceroy was in Gurnet Mura'i (*Mélanges Maspero*, 1935-1938, p. 662 f.; see also H.W. HELCK in *JNES*, XIV [1955], p. 31). But even if the ushabti was originally lying in the Theban Necropolis, as was the statue, it would not mean that the tomb of that viceroy was lying there; ushabtis of important persons were found in places other than the tomb; see also Labib HABACHI, *JEA* 54 (1959), p. 61, n. 8.

USHABTIS OF SETAU AND 'ANHOTEP FROM DRA' ABU EL-NAGA', SOUTH.

In his dig in this area in years 1921-3, Clarence Fisher discovered many ushabtis of the viceroy Setau in and near to their tombs. These have been kept in the University Museum, Philadelphia. Thanks to Lanny Bell, who provided me with views of some of them, and information about them, I am able to give here a description of these.

a) Ushabti No. 29-86-223, in white faience, 8 cm. high, found in court in front of the tomb, has a column of inscription in the middle of the front reading: «*The leader of the feast, Setau*».

b, c) Two small ushabtis Nos. 29-84-343 A B in pottery, about 5 cm., one of Setau with a inscription similar to the previous one; the second is most probably also of Setau, but his title is not quite clear.

d) Ushabti No. 29-86-268 in blue faience, 7 cm. high, found in the upper cemetery, has a column of inscription on the front reading: «*The Osiris ... the chantress of Amun ...*». Most probably this ushabti belongs to Nefermut, Setau's wife ⁽¹⁾ (fig. 39).

e) This is a ushabti, which I saw in the Metropolitan Museum some time ago. Thanks to Dr. Henry G. Fischer, I am giving here a view (fig. 40) and a short description of it. It bears No. 22-2-28, in blue faience and 11 cms. high. It shows the owner carrying a hoe in each hand. The inscription in the middle of the front, in black ink, reads: «*May illuminate the Osiris, king's son of Kush, 'Anhotep*». From the writing of the name, it seems that either it was written wrongly and later corrected or it replaced an earlier name. This ushabti was purchased from an antiquities' dealer who lives close to the tomb of 'Anhotep (Theban Necropolis No. 300).

⁽¹⁾ For Setau, his wife, and their monuments, see *Idem*, «Setau, the Famous Viceroy of Ramesses II and his Career», *Cahier d'Histoire égyptienne*, X (1966), pp. 53 ff, (below pp. 121 ff). Ushabtis are already known of this viceroy, one in B.M. and three in Turin Museum, G. REISNER in *JEA* 6 (1919), p. 43, 14, C' and GAUTHIER. *Rec. trav.* 39 (1921), p. 211.

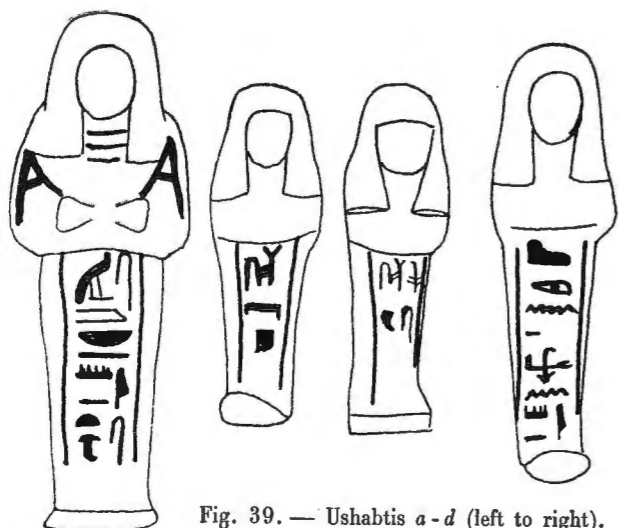


Fig. 39. — Ushabtis a-d (left to right).



Fig. 40. — Ushabti e.

UPPER PART OF A STELA OF THE GUARDIAN IRINOFER.

This was found in the court of Roma-Roy (No. 283) and is in the University Museum, Phila. under No. 29.87.449. It is of limestone, the surviving part being 14 cms. high and 31 cms. broad. Lanny Bell kindly provided me with a view and details about it, for which I would like here to thank him (fig. 41).



Fig. 41. — Stela frag. of Irinofer.

It seems to have had a goddess holding the *w:d*-scepter in the hand and described as the mistress of Amentet, but of this whole scene, only the papyrus flower of the scepter survives ⁽¹⁾. Setau is shown opposite with upraised hands; he is referred to by the words : «*The king's son of Kush, Setau, the blessed*».

Behind Setau must also have been standing a second person, perhaps the one who was responsible for the stela; this man is described as : «*The chief guardian, Irinofer*» ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Hathor may have been the goddess who was represented here; she is usually given this epithet, especially in the Theban Necropolis, where the stela was unearthed.

⁽²⁾ In *PM I*, p. 372, mention is made of : «Upper part of painted stela with text of deceased as chief bowman of Kush, found in Court of tomb 283, in Philadelphia, Univ. Mus. 29.87.449». This is the number of our stela. As we have seen, the owner, whose name is Irinofer, was just the chief guardian, and served,

The name of this man is popular and cannot be identified with any other known person, but it is quite possible that he could be the last person (No. 12) in a series of assistants of the viceroy Setau depicted on the north wall of his shrine in Ibrim⁽¹⁾.

THE OWNER OF TOMB NO. 282 IN THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS.

Under this title I wrote some time ago an article proposing that the owner stated in the *Bibliography* to be the head of the bowmen, Nakht⁽²⁾, and taken by Clarence Fisher to be the future viceroy Hekanakht⁽³⁾, was actually the head of bowmen, Anḥurnakhte, who left four graffiti on Seheil Island. My proposal was based on the fact that no person of that name and title was known, and that, quite rarely, officials of the Southern Land were known to have been promoted to the post of viceroys of Kush⁽⁴⁾.

Subsequently, on Biga Island, in company with Mah. Abd el-Razik, I came upon a large block of granite; on one of its relatively flat surfaces is carved a well-executed graffito. This shows a man leaning slightly forward, holding in his right hand a part of his dress and raising his

in this function, the viceroy Setau. For the name of the man, see H. RANKE, *Personennamen*, I, 41 : 27, and for the clump of papyrus as *m^s-hrw*, see *Wb.*, II, 17 : 16.

⁽¹⁾ Ricardo A. CAMINOS, *The Shrines and Rock Inscriptions of Ibrim*, 1968, pp. 45 ff., for Irinofer, see p. 46 and pl. 14. On the south wall of the same shrine, there is another series of more important assistants of the same viceroy, see *Ibid.*, pp. 47 f. and pl. 15. For more assistants, see the stelae of Es-Sebu'a, now in Cairo Museum; see A. BARSANTI and H. GAUTHIER, *ASAE*, XI (1911), pp. 64 ff.; a stela in the Louvre in P. PIERRET, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du musée égyptien du Louvre*, p. 77 and a rock stela of Tonqola, *PM*, VII, 1951, p. 90.

⁽²⁾ *PM*, I^a, 1960, p. 364 f. The man was given also the title of «Overseer of the Southern Lands».

⁽³⁾ *Pennsylvania University, the Museum Journal*, XV (1924), pp. 35 ff., with plan on p. 46.

⁽⁴⁾ *JEA*, 54 (1968), pp. 107 ff. As we stated in this study (p. 109, n. 2), viceroys were chosen by the king from among those who gained his confidence; see DRIOTON-VANDIER, *L'Égypte*^a, 463.

left hand in adoration. He is wearing a wig and dressed in two garments, one above the other; the upper one has short, but wide sleeves (fig. 42).

Above him is a horizontal line of inscription, and, in front of him, is a second one of five columns. The first two of this latter inscription



Fig. 42. — Rock Inscription of Minnakhte on Biga Island (Line drawing).

are followed by a rough part of the rock and left uninscribed. This inscription reads : «Giving homage to Khenemre, kissing the earth to [2] his ka, that he may grant a good lifetime with my heart in joy [3] and pleasure every day (namely) to the ka of the chief of the bowmen of the lord of the Two Lands, Minnakhte [4] the blessed, son of the judge, the chief of the bowmen and overseer of the Southern Lands, Pennesuttaui, [5] repeated of beautiful life⁽¹⁾ in peace». The same god adored by Minnakhte is again mentioned

⁽¹⁾ *Nfr* is found here with the usual *wḥm 'nh*, as it happens in *m^s hrw m htp*, CAMINOS, *op. cit.*, I, p. 17 and *nfr m^s hrw*, pl. 17 and p. 16; pl. 28, p. 25. Also the same word happens in *m^s nfr*, see *JEA*, 54 (1968), p. 109, inscription I, and pl. XVII, 2. We translated that as «justified», but the sign *hrw* might have been overlooked, thus completed as *m^s (hrw) nfr*.

in the horizontal line above him. It reads : «*Khnum, lord of Biga*». This god was the main divinity of the Island, but he was overshadowed and replaced as such by Osiris in the Graeco-Roman Period.

When I saw this inscription, I did not know that it had already been referred to by Arthur E.P. Weigall, who described it as follows : «Upside down, and built into the wall of a house, is a stele on which a XIXth dynasty figure stands with hands upraised, accompanied by an inscription giving a prayer to Khnum for the *Ka* of the 'Commander of Archers of Kush, Nekht-Min' and for 'The Commander of the Archers, the Superintendent of the Lands of the South, Pennesuttawi (20 B)'»⁽¹⁾. It seems that the house into which it was built at the time Weigall inspected it had been washed away by the rising water upstream of the Aswan Dam.

Taking the inscription as a whole, it is clear that Minnakhte was the son of Pennesuttaui, both occupying the same post of chief of the bowmen. Knowing that the tomb of the father (No. 156) is close to that of the subject of my study, I became doubtful about my identification of the owner of that tomb as Anhurnakhte. I asked, therefore, my friend Lanny Bell, who took over the final clearance of that tomb, to examine the two sarcophagi in the burial chamber to see if my doubts were justified or not.

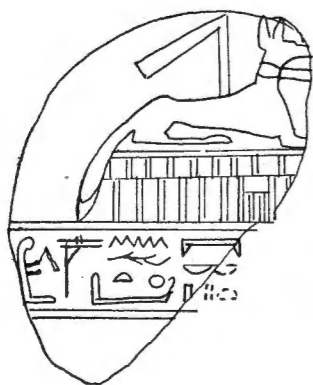


Fig. 43. — Knob (?) of box of Minnakhte.

Though the two sarcophagi proved to be uninscribed, he found enough indications to show that the owner of the tomb was actually Minnakhte. Among his finds was a round object in faience, perhaps originally used as a knob to a box. He immediately supplied me with all the information about it, giving me permission to publish it (fig. 43). To him

⁽¹⁾ *A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, 1910, p. 466. This graffito has not been pointed out among those recorded on Biga Island in *PM*, V, pp. 255 ff.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude. There Anubis is shown crouching on his seat, having on his back the usual flail. Below is the inscription : «... *the chief of bowmen, Minnakhte* ...»⁽¹⁾. Apart from that, I was told by Bell that he also unearthed some ushabtis with the name of Minnakhte in the tomb.

Considering these finds, the tomb is sure to have been carved by the chief of bowmen, Minnakhte. In our previous study of his tomb, we referred to a loose fragment mentioning : «*the (overseer of the Southern) Lands, Minnakhte*» and to an inscription on the wall where the same man is named as father of someone, whose name is not found in the surviving part of the inscription⁽²⁾. Again it has to be said that the sign *in*, which forms the beginning of the name of Anhurnakhte, was found more than once in effaced names. It is quite probable that Anhurnakhte was the son of Minnakhte. If this is true, we then have three chiefs of bowmen in three successive generations. This had been guessed before⁽³⁾, but now it is sure that the owner of tomb No. 282 is neither Nakhtu, who was promoted as viceroy Hekanakhte, nor Anhurnakhte, but Minnakhte, son of Pennesuttaui.

⁽¹⁾ Most probably *Ks* comes next; he was given that full title on his rock stela on the road between Philae and Aswan, see Labib HABACHI, *op. cit.*, p. 112 and fig. 4. No. of knob 29-86-193, Dimensions : 6.4 cm. max. ht. × 5.3 max. width.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 111 f.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 113. Among the viceroys, only Amenemopet of Sethos I, succeeded his father, the viceroy Paser of Ay-Haremhab (?), and Hori II (Ramesses III-IV) succeeded his father, Hori I, who served Setnakht till Ramesses III.

CHAPTER VII

SETAU, THE FAMOUS VICEROY OF RAMSES II AND HIS CAREER

LAST year the Land of Nubia was visited by many people of different nations, and the number of visitors who can be expected during the next few years will undoubtedly be even greater. Many of those who have come so far are occupied with the recording and salvage of the monuments which will be submerged by the High Dam, but in future the greater number will come simply to see the ancient remains before they are removed or submerged forever under the waters.

Toward the end of 1959, the editors of *Reader's Digest* decided to delegate Mr. Gordon Gaskill, their active correspondent in Rome, to write an article about the monuments of Nubia in order to make known to the whole world the treasures of this land which would be lost to civilization if the necessary steps were not taken in time to record and save them. All the necessary information was put at his disposal on his arrival in Egypt. After about a month's stay in Cairo, he and his wife started off a personal visit to the monuments of Nubia, inaccessible except by boat, on one of the Government's comfortable houseboats towed by a tug. As he told me later, he had travelled all over the world, using all kinds of transportation, but never in such luxury as on this particular trip ⁽¹⁾!

I was fortunate enough to be designated to accompany them. This gave me the opportunity to visit some of the sites which I was anxious to see and to collate certain inscriptions for myself and my colleagues. But I never expected to find something entirely new during the short

⁽¹⁾ He wrote his report in the July 1960 number of the *Reader's Digest*, pp. 100 ff. under the title «SOS from the Temples of Nubia».

period of our trip, nor could I imagine beforehand that this new find would confirm a hypothesis which I had formulated in a previous article.

Starting from Shellal at midnight on the 27th of November, we visited the temples of Beit el-Wali and Gerf Hussein the next day, and passed the night opposite the temple of Wadi Es-Sebua^c. Early next morning we crossed the river to visit the monument of Ramesses II built in honour of Amun and Re-Horakhty⁽¹⁾. From there we proceeded to the small village nearby, passing on our way the remains of the small temple erected by Amenophis III and restored by Ramesses II⁽²⁾. On my asking the guard if anything of importance remained in the building, he told me that part of a statue lay hidden under the sand. Hoping that it would prove to be something new, we began clearing the place pointed out to us, and not quite a quarter of an hour had passed before the block made its appearance.

The object proved to be the pedestal of a double statue in Nubian sandstone. The figures must originally have been about life-size but only the feet, about 30 cm. high, remained. They belonged to a man and a woman. The front and sides of the pedestal⁽³⁾ were set into a second pedestal of plaster⁽⁴⁾ (fig. 44). Probably this statue stood opposite a second similar one at the entrance to the temple⁽⁵⁾.

⁽¹⁾ For this Temple, see PORTER-MOSS-BURNEY, *Topographical Bibliography* ... VII, pp. 53 ff. This temple was published by GAUTHIER, *Le Temple de Ouadi es-Seboua* in the series entitled *Les temples immergés de la Nubie*, but it will be published by the French Institute of the Oriental Archaeology who started working on the temple and the site at the beginning of the year 1959.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, 63 f.

⁽³⁾ This is 70 cms. broad, 52 cms. thick and 16 cms. high.

⁽⁴⁾ This is 89 cms. broad, 69 cms. thick and 31 cms. high. Perhaps this was made to make the statue more suitable; the pedestal was not big enough to support the statue.

⁽⁵⁾ A part of the Temple of Amenophis was carved in the rock, on which a layer of plaster was put to receive the frescoes. Ramesses II later erected his building in the local stone of Es-Sebua. After inspecting the statue we buried it in the same place where it was found.

As usual, the statue of the man is shown to the right of that of the woman⁽¹⁾; his left foot advances whereas the feet of the woman are close together in a standing position. Between the feet of the two figures were two short columns of inscription each one facing towards the person

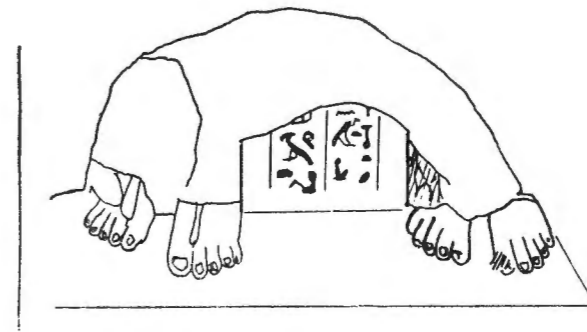


Fig. 44. — Front side of the statue of Setau.

of whom it speaks. They gave the main title and name of each person, but only the latter survive (fig. 44). However, there is another inscription on the back where there must have been a kind of stela composed of six columns of text, three referring to each person. Each column seems to have contained an invocation to a divinity for the *ka* of one of the two persons concerned, followed by his titles and name. Only a few signs at the end of each column remain. The first line concerning the man describes him as «*the King's son, Setau*», the second shows him to be attached to the cult of Amun, while the third gives only his name. Of the inscription devoted to the woman, the second and third lines show only her name, but the first lines proves that she was the «*chief (lady) of the Harim of Amun, Nefertmut*» (fig. 45)⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ VANDIER in his *Manuel d'Archéologie*, III, says that this is usually the case, whether the couple is represented standing (p. 439 and footnote 13), or sitting (p. 441).

⁽²⁾ This title is complete on the statue of Setau in the Cairo Museum, of which we shall speak below. In April 1964, passing by Es-Sebua^c, we found a small block from the stela at the back of the statue among the debris coming out of the temple. Here the block is shown with the inscription of the dyad.

No prince of the royal family by the name of Setau is known, but a man of that name occupied the position of Viceroy of Kush during part of the reign of Ramesses II. Like many of the other officials who occupied that important post, he was sometimes referred to simply as «The king's son»⁽¹⁾. Proof that the person represented by the statue of Es-Sebua'



Fig. 45. — Back side of the statue of Setau.

is this same Viceroy can be gathered from the fact that he is shown in company with a woman named «chief (lady) of the Harim of Amun, Nefertmut», who appears several times elsewhere with the Viceroy Setau (see below). As a rule she is referred to as «his beloved sister» (an expression used to designate the wife), and in one instance she is referred to directly as «his wife»⁽²⁾.

Thus there stood in the temple erected by Amenophis III and restored by Ramesses II at Es-Sebua', an almost life-size statue of the viceroy Setau⁽³⁾ and his wife, Nefertmut. It is curious that this statue should have been overlooked by the previous excavators of the temple. However there seems to have been some question at the time of the first heightening of the Aswan Dam as to whether the temple should be cleared by the employees of the Department of Antiquities or the members of the Archæological Survey of Nubia. Already in 1910-11, Sir Robert Mond

⁽¹⁾ Setau is referred to by this title on the same statue No. 1134.

⁽²⁾ See GAUTHIER, *Rec. trav.*, XXII, 113.

⁽³⁾ For this viceroy, see REISNER, «The Viceroys of Ethiopia», *JEA*, VI, pp. 43 ff. (14); GAUTHIER, *Rec. trav.*, XXXIX, pp. 24 ff.

had partly cleared the temple and photographed its beautiful frescoes. Later, Firth, as head of the Archæological Survey, continued the clearance, but was not allowed to finish it as the clearance of the temples was not considered to fall within the rights of the expedition. Undoubtedly the statue showing Setau and his wife was visible then, it is clear in the view reproduced of the temple and in the plan made of it⁽¹⁾. Later it might have been covered with sand.

Besides the frescoes showing Amenophis III in the presence of Amun and other divinities of the place, Firth unearthed in the temple some fragments of broken statues, a complete altar of Ramesses II and a number of stelae belonging to individuals of the time of that king and later⁽²⁾. On one of these stelae we see Amenre, lord of Karnak, standing opposite Horakhty, the great god, in the upper register, and below a lady in a long garment lifting her hands in adoration before Ptah, Udjo and a ram-headed god, possibly Khnum. The lady's name is Nefertmut. In an article which I wrote about this stela for the *Khartum Bulletin «Kush»*, I stated that the lady in question might very well be the wife of Setau who has left so many monuments in the nearby temple of Ramesses II and with whom she is often depicted⁽³⁾. The discovery in this same temple where the stela was found, of a statue of Setau together with his wife provides strong support for this hypothesis.

It is known that viceroys of Kush were first appointed to control the South in the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty and that the position ceased to exist after the XXth Dynasty; they thus exercised control for a period of about five centuries. Setau was one of the most important viceroys and he left numerous monuments and inscriptions scattered over the whole region which he administered; a distance of about 500 kms. In order to follow his activities and trace his career, we shall give here a brief description of his monuments found throughout the area controlled by him.

⁽¹⁾ G.M. FIRTH, *The Archæological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1910-1911*, pp. 235 ff., cf. p. 236 and note. For a view of the statue, see pl. II and for its position, see plan XIV C.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 237, for fac-similes of these stelae, see p. 239.

⁽³⁾ This will appear in the number 8 of this periodical, (below pp. 189 ff.).

EL-KAB :

Setau left in El-Kab several monuments of particular importance as they prove that this place came under the administration of the Viceroy of Kush. For instance in the Chapel of Thoth, known to the inhabitants of El-Kab as «El-Hammam» or «The Bath» are to be seen scenes in which the viceroy appears adoring one of the divinities, either standing alone, holding a fan or following his sovereign. The fact that he is shown so often in this chapel suggests that he was the person responsible for erecting it⁽¹⁾. Also at El-Kab, but this time in the temple of Amenophis III, were found the lower part of a statue of Setau and also a statue base, the two perhaps belonging together⁽²⁾. It is known that the area usually controlled by the viceroys began at Aswan and extended towards the South as far as the suzerainty of the ruling king was acknowledged. However, at certain periods, as for example during the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Tutankhamen⁽³⁾, the limits of this territory extended further North to include Hierakonpolis and El-Kab. From the presence of the chapel of Thoth built by Setau in El-Kab, it can be concluded that this was the case also during the reign of Ramesses II.

ASWAN REGION :

In our article in *Kush* concerning «The Graffiti and Work of the Viceroys in the Region of Aswan», we spoke of the 38 rock-inscriptions left by these important officials in that direction⁽⁴⁾. Of these four were inscribed by Setau. One of these, on the island of Sehel, shows the Viceroy followed by «his beloved sister, Nefertmut», both kneeling before the local goddess Anukis. Usually the viceroy's visit to the district is considered an official occasion and he is shown alone or in the presence

⁽¹⁾ See PORTER-MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography* ..., V, p. 187 f., where it is stated that this chapel was built by the viceroy.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

⁽³⁾ See SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Aegypten und Nubien*, pp. 177 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ *Kush*, V, pp. 13 ff. and pls. V-VII, (above pp. 29 ff.).

of the reigning king, but this is not the case here⁽¹⁾. We shall show later on that the presence here of figure of Nefertmut may be due to another reason.

Mariette mentions a second graffito on Sehel⁽²⁾ but we have failed so far to locate it. However, on the road leading from Aswan to Konosse, there are two inscriptions of Setau showing him before the cartouches of Ramesses II. As we pointed out in our article, this road was taken by military expeditions on their way towards the South and the presence of Setau's graffiti here may indicate that he, as Viceroy, took part in one of Ramesses II's campaigns against this region⁽³⁾. It may be added here that the viceroy appears in the lower register of a double-stela at Abu Simbel in which the king is twice shown clubbing his enemies, once before Amenre and again before Horus, Lord of Buhen (see below). This also suggests that a campaign took place during the viceregency of Setau, in which he took active part.

The fourth graffito was found on a rock opposite the ruins of the old town on Elephantine Island. The presence of this graffito in this place may indicate that he was responsible for erecting some buildings on the Island, where several blocks inscribed with the name of Ramesses II were found⁽⁴⁾.

GERF HUSSEIN AND ES-SEBUA' :

Ramesses II built six great temples in the Egyptian Nubia, all of which are carved in the rock. All these temples stand at a comparatively high level so that even after the second heightening of the Aswan Dam

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 31 f. (No. 30), (above p. 57).

⁽²⁾ *Monuments divers*, 71 (27). REISNER in *JEA* 43 (14, u).

⁽³⁾ *Kush*, V, p. 32 (Nos. 31, 32), (above p. 57 f.).

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 32 (No. 33) and fig. 13, (above p. 58 f.). No building from the reign of Ramesses II is still standing on the Island, but many blocks are to be found reused in later temples. A base of a column found at the eastern end of the Big Temple of Khnum looks as if it is standing in its original place. In the Quay protecting the approach of the late temples, there are many blocks of this king reused in its building, see *Bibliography*, V, p. 225.

they were still above water. However, they will lie many meters below the waters of the High Dam. Of these temples, two seem to have been constructed by Setau for his master: Gerf Hussein and Wadi es-Sebua'. In the former, Setau left two statues (one of which is now in the Berlin Museum) on which appear his name and title⁽¹⁾. Furthermore, inside the temple in the doorway to one of the inner rooms opening on the vestibule, are carved two inscriptions of Setau⁽²⁾. The fact that Setau could carve his name and titles at two places in innermost part of a temple erected by the reigning king lead perhaps to the belief that the temple was built by the Viceroy⁽³⁾.

It has never so far been stated that the temple of Ramesses II at Wadi Es-Sebua'⁽⁴⁾ was built by Setau, but there remains a great possibility that it was. No other viceroy ever erected in a single temple so many monuments as did Setau in the temple of Wadi Es-Sebua'. Near the temple exists a graffito of his, while inside the temple itself were found twelve stelae, five door-jambs or linetels, three statues and a rectangular block all mentioning the name of Setau.

Eleven stelae were found by Barsanti in the outer court, seven of them in-situ against the north wall. Of these, five (nos. II, V, VI, VII, X) were made for the viceroy himself; five others (I, III, IV, VIII, IX) were made for officials who mention the Viceroy, and the last (XII) was carved by the sculptor Pantawer, who was perhaps responsible

⁽¹⁾ Berlin Statue No. 2283 for the two statues, see *Bibliography*, VI, pp. 36-7.

⁽²⁾ *LD, Text*, V, p. 56, (*Bibliography*, VII, p. 36).

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 33. Perhaps this is said in the Bibliography owing to a statement given by WEIGALL, *The Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, p. 81.

⁽⁴⁾ For this Temple and its finds, see *Bibliography*, VII, pp. 53 ff. François DAUMAS in his «Rapport sommaire sur les fouilles exécutées à Ouadi es-Seboua' en mars 1960» in *BIFAO*, LX, p. 185 which has just appeared, says that the temple was built by the viceroy Setau at an early date of the reign of the king (p. 185). As we shall see below, Setau assumed his function as viceroy towards the middle of the reign of Ramesses II and it is during that time that the temple was erected. It is to be noted that Daumas found fragment of a statue of the viceroy reused in the pavement of the Coptic Church in the Temple, p. 187.

for the fabrication of the whole set of stelae. Two of the stelae are dated, but only one of the dates is legible: the 44th year of Ramesses II⁽¹⁾.

Gauthier found also in the outer Court, five parts of doors and another stela on which the Viceroy is represented behind the king, both adoring the serpent-goddess, Teremuthis⁽²⁾. In the inner court he found fragments of three statues but only a few signs are visible upon them⁽³⁾. In one of the small rooms situated in the south wall of the second court, he came across a rectangular base, on whose sides are representations of Setau adoring the cartouches of the king, described as beloved of Amenre on one side and of Horakhty on the other⁽⁴⁾. To round out the list of monuments left by the viceroy at Es-Sebua', mention must be made of the rock-stela carved for him to the north of the temple. Of the inscription, only the words «The Viceroy Setau» can still be seen⁽⁵⁾. It seems quite probable according to the number and importance of his monuments left in the temple, that the Viceroy was responsible for its construction. The presence of the statue of Setau together with his wife, as well as that of the stela of Nefertmut in the Amenophis III temple at Es-Sebua', would seem to indicate that he may have restored that temple as well.

AMADA, TOMAS AND TONKALEH :

The small and beautiful temple of Amada was built and decorated by Tuthmosis III, Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV. It is one of the earliest temples of Nubia and many a king and official of a later period

⁽¹⁾ For these stelae, see BARSANTI and GAUTHIER, «Stèles trouvées à Ouadi es-Seboua' (Nubie)», in *Ann. du Serv.* XI, pp. 64-86. For stela Nos. VII, VIII, see GAUTHIER, *Le Temple de Ouadi es-Seboua'*, pl. 66. For stela No. IX, see also YOYOTTE «Un document relatif aux rapports de la Libye et de la Nubie» in *Bulletin de la Société Fr. d'Égyptologie*, No. 6, pp. 9 ff. cf. 13 f. and pl. I.

⁽²⁾ GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 ff.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 122 f.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁽⁵⁾ *LD, Text*, V, p. 90.

left graffiti or monuments there⁽¹⁾. In the embrasure of the entrance-door to the temple, Setau seems to have carved his figure opposite the cartouches of Ramesses II followed by an inscription which mentions «Renewing the monuments for his father Horakhty (by) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt User(mare-setpenre) ...»⁽²⁾. We do not know that «renewal works» were undertaken in the temple by Ramesses II, but whatever was done, it was the viceroy Setau who was charged with carrying it out. It is noteworthy that the Viceroy Hekanakht, who also served under Ramesses II, has left a graffiti in the same temple which, however, makes no mention of works carried out there⁽³⁾.

At Tomas, Setau left two rock-inscriptions in one of which he is shown adoring the cartouches of the king. Why Setau chose Tomas as the site for his graffiti is not clear. Perhaps the importance of the place was derived from the quarries nearby, worked in ancient times, and the fact that several caravan routes branched off from there⁽⁴⁾. Somewhat further south on the opposite bank at Tonqaleh, there is a more important inscription. It consists of three registers; in the upper one Ramesses II offers to Horus of Miam, in the middle are four lines of inscriptions while the lower one contains a kneeling male figure which must be the viceroy Setau⁽⁵⁾. The inscription is rather important as it speaks of a statue of Ramesses II called: «Ramesses-meramen-Beloved-like-Horus» which probably stood in the vicinity, perhaps in a building where Horus of Miam was worshipped. This seems probable since the latter divinity appears in the upper register of the stela opposite Ramesses II; the person who was responsible for carving the stela was Tuthmose, the governor of Miam.

⁽¹⁾ *Bibliography*, VII, pp. 64 ff.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 67; cf. GAUTHIER, *Le Temple d'Amada*, pp. 184 f. and pl. XI b.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 134 and pl. XXXI b. Gauthier adds that the name of this viceroy is also found on the embrasure of the central door.

⁽⁴⁾ WIEGALL, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 f.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, pl. LXIV, 7, and p. 113.

ELLESIYA AND KASR IBRIM :

Outside the rock-temple of Tuthmosis III at Ellesiya are a number of graffiti, one of which shows Ramesses II before Amenre and Horus while below is a representation of Setau kneeling before four vertical lines of text. Inside the temple, Setau carved his figure beneath some scenes showing Tuthmosis III offering to various divinities⁽¹⁾.

A short distance to the south lies Aniba, the capital of Nubia in ancient and modern times. Opposite this town rises the high cliff on which was built the Roman fortress of Primis. During the New Kingdom, four rock grottos were carved in the western face of this cliff by various viceroys of Kush. There they show their sovereigns adoring the local divinities or receiving the tribute coming from the South. But in that of Setau, the second from the south, the Viceroy was anxious to display his own power by representing himself, in two similar scenes, followed by his wife Nefertmut and nine officials attached to his service in Nubia, standing before Ramesses II. Apart from these scenes there is nothing in the grotto except the statue of the king between Hathor and Horus carved in a niche at the back⁽²⁾.

ABU SIMBEL AND FARAS :

North and south of the two temples of Abu Simbel are to be found more than thirty rock-inscriptions ranging in date from the Sixth down to the Twentieth Dynasty. Some of them were carved in honour of kings but most of them commemorate visits made by officials⁽³⁾. Many a viceroy from the time of Ramesses II on left one or more inscriptions there. But the most conspicuous and perhaps the largest rock-inscription in the whole of Egypt, is the double-stela carved by Setau, about seven meters wide and five meters high. Each half of this stela is divided into

⁽¹⁾ For the Temple and its graffiti including those of Setau, see *Bibliography*, VII, pp. 90 ff.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁽³⁾ See *ibid.*, pp. 117 ff. (1-27). We had the opportunity to study these graffiti for the Center of Documentation in the winters of 1956 and 1958 and we hope to speak briefly of the result of this study in the near future.

three registers. In the upper one Ramesses II receives the sword from Amun in one case and Horus in the other, with which he is about to kill his enemies in the South. The middle register contains four lines of text beginning with the date : Year 38 of Ramesses II ; and continuing with his names and epithets. In the lower register Setau kneels before an inscription of several vertical columns ⁽¹⁾.

Another inscription of a viceroy in the neighbourhood has always been ascribed to Setau although it belongs actually to an unknown viceroy of Ramesses II ⁽²⁾. But in the temple of Hatshepsut at the so-called Hathor Rock of Abshek at Faras, on the frontier dividing Egypt from the Sudan, Setau engraved a niche in which he is shown with his wife Nefertmut adoring the cartouches of Ramesses II ⁽³⁾.

BUHEN AND SAI ISLAND :

Buhen was one of the most important places under the control of the viceroy as it dominated the region of the Second Cataract. There on two pillars of the temple of Hatshepsut, Setau appears with inscriptions enumerating some of his titles ⁽⁴⁾. It is reported also that a relief, now in the British Museum, came from Buhen or the vicinity. On this relief Setau is to be seen adoring the goddess Termuthis (Renenutet) ⁽⁵⁾, as also on one of the stelae found at Es-Sebua^c (above p. 129). One of Setau's main titles, held by hardly any other viceroy, «was Overseer of the Houses of Silver and Gold». These latter were supposed to be under the protection of Termuthis, the goddess of the harvest ⁽⁶⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 118 f. (no. 24).

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 118 (No. 15). Reisner says that it was perhaps carved by him (14, p), but the traces of the name at the end of the inscription point to a hither unknown viceroy.

⁽³⁾ *Bibliography*, VII, p. 126, cf. GRIFFITH in *Liverpool Annales*, XIII, 87 ff., and pl. XXIV.

⁽⁴⁾ *Bibliography*, VII, p. 133, 135.

⁽⁵⁾ See *Guide to the British Museum* (1909), *Sculpture*, p. 128 (1055).

⁽⁶⁾ For this title, see below title No. 5 in the list of titles of this viceroy. It is to be noted that in the graffito opposite Elephantine Island is Aswan, the king says to the viceroy : «... the treasury is filled with silver and gold». *Kush*, V, 33 (above p. 59).

To complete the list of monuments erected by Setau in the vast area controlled by him we must mention a fragment of the upper part of a figure of the viceroy seen and photographed at the beginning of the present century in the Fort of Sai Island, together with an inscription giving some of his titles ⁽¹⁾. But more important than this fragment, perhaps even the most important object commemorating this official, is an almost lifesize statue in sandstone now in the Cairo Museum (J.E. 1134). According to the Entry Journal of the Museum, this statue came either from Halfa or Semna. On one side of the pedestal is an invocation addressed to Amenre and on the other a second invocation this time to «Horus, Lord of Buhen, that he may cause (the statue) to remain in his temple receiving offerings ...». This inscription proves that the statue may originally have stood in one of the temples of Horus in Buhen, particularly as on the front of the garment of the statue we find the following inscription : «*All that goes forth on the offering table of Horus, of Buhen for the ka of the Viceroy, Setau*». It should be noted that on one side of the statue is depicted the wife of the viceroy ⁽²⁾.

The Viceroy's titles, as inscribed on this statue are as follows :

- 1) Viceroy or Viceroy of Kush.
- 2) Prince and Governor.
- 3) Chancellor of the King of Lower Egypt.

⁽¹⁾ Breasted referred to this object in his *Second Report*, see *JAM* and photographed it (No. 3262). Apart from his monuments here spoken of the following objects inscribed with his name were found : 1) A block reused in threshold of a native house, *Bibliography*, V, p. 104. 2) Fragments of a sarcophagus, *ibid.*, VII, 372, and a lid of a sarcophagus, now in the British Museum, see *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries* (1909), *Sculpture*, p. 199 (720). 3) Pyramid of Bakenkhonsu reused by Setau, see *Bibliography*, I, (2nd edition), p. 369. 4) Statuette from Kom El-Ahmar. 5) Statuette of Panestawi. 6) Shawabti, see *JEA*, VI, p. 43 (14).

⁽²⁾ BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten* ..., vol. IV, pp. 72 f. *Bibliography*, VII, p. 140. This statue may have been standing in Abu Simbel. There the viceroy is showing in the double stela which he carved to the south of the Great Temple the king adoring in one scene Amenre and in the other Horus of Buhen. These are the same divinities invoked on the statue.

- 4) Sole friend.
- 5) Overseer of the Houses of silver and gold.
- 6) He who is over the secrets in Hatnub.
- 7) Chief Steward of Amun.
- 8) Messenger of the King to the Place of Truth.

In addition, he holds the following titles found on other monuments especially on his statue in El-Kab :

- 9) Overseer of the Southern Countries.
- 10) Overseer of the Gold Lands of Amun or of the Lord of the two Lands.
- 11) Mayor of the Town (Thebes) or Overseer of the Treasury, or Chief Steward of the Town.
- 12) Fan-bearer on the right of the King.
- 13) Father of the god and beloved of the god.
- 14) He who controls the feasts of Amun.
- 15) Overseer of the prophets of (Amun).
- 16) Royal's scribe.
- 17) He who is over the head of the Land.
- 18) The one who is over the secrets of the Temple of Neit.
- 19) The chief steward in the Temple of Maet.

On the Cairo statue, his wife Nefertmut holds the following title :

- 1) Chief (lady) of the harim of Amun.

To this title which appears also on the double-statue from the Amenophis III temple in Es-Sebua⁵, can be added from other monuments :

- 2) Chantress of Amun.
- 3) Chief (lady) of the harim of Nekhbet.

The lists of titles given here for Setau and his wife cannot pretend to be complete, many of their monuments being in remote and inaccessible places so that they have never been properly copied, if at all.

Furthermore, the tomb in which he was buried together with his wife in Dra' Abu el-Naga' at Thebes (no. 289) and where other titles may be attributed to both of them, has never been published⁽¹⁾.

The presence of this tomb in Thebes suggests that he and his wife were closely connected with the Southern Town. As was the case for other Viceroys such as : Turo Ahmes (temp. Amenophis I and Tuthmosis I); Mermose (temp. Amenophis III); Amenhotep-Huy (temp. Tutankhamun); 'Anhotep (temp. Ramesses II); and perhaps also Sen (temp. Tuthmosis I) and Nehi (temp. Tuthmosis III)⁽²⁾, he was native of Thebes and buried there. He held more than one title relating him to that town and its great divinity, Amun (cf. nos. 8, 11, 14, 15). The same holds true for his wife (cf. nos. 1, 2). It may also be noted that on the Cairo Museum statue she is spoken of as «greatly praised by the Lords of Thebes». It is to be noted that she is sometimes related to the cult of Nekhbet, mistress of El-Kab, where her husband built a temple.

As a rule we know nothing about the careers of the viceroys before their elevation to that important position. Thanks, however, to a stela found in tomb no. 283 of the Theban necropolis and now in the University Museum, Philadelphia (28. 87. 449), we know that Setau was appointed «Chief Bowman of Kush» before being raised to the post of viceroy⁽³⁾. Usually viceroys were not chosen from among the official already functioning in the Land of Kush, but this does not seem to have been the case for Setau⁽⁴⁾.

In what year did Setau become Viceroy and how long did he hold this position? It has been claimed that he was already Viceroy in the second year of Seti I, and the prevailing opinion is that he was still in office in the 63rd year of Ramesses II. This would mean that he was Viceroy for at least 74 years. The former date is derived from the Rollin

⁽¹⁾ For the tomb, see *Bibliography*, I (2nd edition), pp. 369 ff.

⁽²⁾ See the present writer in *Kush*, VII, pp. 45 ff., cf. p. 61 and notes, (above p. 87). For 'Anhotep, see *Bibliography*, I, (2nd edition), p. 380 f. (Tomb No. 300).

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

⁽⁴⁾ Turi and Huy were supposed to have been the only viceroys working in Nubia before they were appointed as viceroys, DRIOTON-VANDIER, *L'Egypte* (3), 463.

Papyrus on which the name of the Viceroy appears. But Reisner was undoubtedly correct in concluding that the inscription of Setau was a latter addition⁽¹⁾. The latter date was read by Weigall on the rock-stela of Tonqaleh (see above). But the date on this stela is mutilated; only two ten-signs are visible at the beginning and three digit strokes at the end. The middle was thought by Weigall to have contained four more ten signs, thus making a total of sixty-three. But there is no reason why this space should not have been filled with one ten sign and six digit strokes, making 39; two ten signs and four digit strokes making 47; or even three ten signs and two digit strokes bringing the date up to fifty-five. But, as I shall point out in a future article, Ramesses II was served by three or four other Viceroys after the retirement of Setau. We are therefore forced to the conclusion that the first or second alternatives for the restoration of the date are more likely than the third alternative or than Weigall's reading . . . It was shown above that the double-stela of Setau at Abu Simbel is dated in the 38th year of Ramesses II and one of the stelae of Es-Sebua' in his 44th year. Taking into consideration these dates and taking into account the many monuments and inscriptions made by Setau during his viceregency, we can assume that he held office from about the 30th to the 50th year of the long reign of Ramesses II.

During this interval, Setau was aided by many officials the names of some of whom have come down to us. In the Musée Calvet at Avignon there is a stela of the first prophet of Ramesses II, called Atten, and the servant of the viceroy, Pakhered⁽²⁾. Five of the stelae found by Barsanti at Es-Sebua' (see above) were made by officials who were undoubtedly subordinates of Setau's. In his grotto at Kasr Ibrim, the viceroy is shown him followed by his wife and nine officials. But undoubtedly his suite was more numerous than this as a number of officials usually attached to the service of the Viceroy such as the deputies of Wawat and Kush, are not figured there. Nevertheless it is notable

⁽¹⁾ REISNER in *JEA*, VI, 44 and GAUTHIER in *Rec. trav.*, XXXIX, p. 212.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 212 (6).

that more officials attached to the service of Setau are known than is the case for any other viceroy.

It is very rare that viceroys are depicted accompanied by their wives. What reason can we give then for the fact that Nefertmut appears so often beside her husband? She is shown with him on Sehel Island, twice at Kasr Ibrim, once at Faras and again on the statue in the Cairo Museum, while the statue in the temple of Amenophis III at Es-Sebua' shows them together, almost life-size. We have seen that Setau bore the titles «Father of the god and beloved of the god» (no. 13 in the list of titles). In early times this title designates the father or father-in-law of the reigning king, but at later periods it seems to have lost this significance. Nevertheless it may, in our case, mean that Nefertmut was in some way related to Ramesses II. That would explain the important position which she seems to have held vis-à-vis of her husband.

From the monuments we have, we give here the family-tree of Setau and his relatives are found, we can give the genealogy of the family as :

Sewadjet-Ain⁽¹⁾
Setau-Nefertmut.

There is no doubt that Setau's place among the viceroys of Kush is pre-eminent. He adorned the area under his control with inscriptions, doors, stelae, grottos and statues erected in honour of the king, but also partly in his own honour. He likewise built and restored many monuments for his lord, as we have shown above. On the largest stela left by him at Es-Sebua' (No. VII), he speaks of his works and the merit due to him for them. In the middle of the stela, he says : «I built the temples of all the land of Kush which were ruined before in addition to what I made anew in the great name of . . .⁽²⁾». Considering all his monuments, we must admit that his boast is a true one. He was a great viceroy worth of the great sovereign he served.

Cairo, December, 1960.

⁽¹⁾ The father is shown in the tomb referred to by his name, *Bibliography I*, (2nd edition), p. 369, for the name of the mother, see *Rec. trav.*, XXII, 113.

⁽²⁾ *Ann. du Serv.*, XI, pp. 77 ff. Ll. 18-19.

P.S. — Since this was written some more monuments of Setau made their appearance. The French Institute of Oriental Archæology of Cairo IFAO, promised to study the temple and the area round and there could find in the temples and in the vicinity some hitherto unknown fragments of statues and a graffito. Also the Antiquities Department delegated Shafiq Farid, Director of Field Work, to clear the pavement of the church inside the Great Temple. There he was able to pick up about eighteen fragments of statues, none of which fit with the other. These will be published in the report of the Department on the result of excavations made in Nubia in 1963-4.

Visiting the site in April 1964, we ourselves were able to find among the debris of Amenophis III Temple a small fragment coming of the back of the dyad showing Setau and his wife. This we photographed and added it to the original surviving inscription. It fits with the first and second columns of inscription belonging to Nefertmut.

Cairo, December, 1964.

CHAPTER VIII

VICEROYS OF KUSH DURING THE REIGNS OF SETHOS I AND RAMESSES II AND THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY ASSUMED THEIR FUNCTION

AMONG the numerous viceroys who served Rameses II and his father, Setau is the only one who left dated monuments, which allow us to know the approximate date of his work. For the others, it is difficult to know even the order in which they served these two sovereigns. Here we are trying to establish such order, aided particularly by a block with an autobiographical inscription mentioning several viceroys who seem to have occupied their post in the second half of the reign of Rameses II. This block was discovered with many interesting objects by Prof. J. Vercoutter in his successful excavations carried out in Sai Island.

Writing to him about it, I received the needed informations and the view of the block reproduced here, with the kind permission to publish it. For this data, I would like to express here my deepest gratitude for him. According to him, the block found in what is called the Turkish fortress in the Island, is in sandstone; its maximum height being 50 cms., breadth 57 cms. and width only 10 cms. There was no way to know the original dimensions of the block; the scenes and inscriptions on it are incomplete on all the sides⁽¹⁾.

The block has two registers. Of the upper one, nothing can be seen except a platform on which a god was shown. The reigning king would

⁽¹⁾ «Excavations at Sai Island 1955-7 : A Preliminary Report», in *Kush* VI, 1958. For this block see p. 156 f. and pl. XLV b. Sai Island was one of the important places in Nubia during the New Kingdom, and there kings erected temples, and viceroys left inscriptions : See *PM*, VII, 1951 p. 164 f. Vercoutter is digging there every year and coming up with important results.

be most probably have been represented standing opposite⁽¹⁾. In the lower register, the man responsible for carving the block would have been shown kneeling in front of an inscription of several columns. But of these, the figure of the man is not present on the surviving part, and of the inscription, the lower part, as well as the beginning and the end are missing.

The surviving inscription reads : « ... [+2] The royal scribe^(a), Mutemhab, (he) says : « (I acted as)^(b) ... [+3] the chief of the granary (?)^(c) of the king's son, Setau, (I acted as) ... [+4] and the controller (?)^(d) of the accounts of Amun, I acted as the real scribe in ...^(e) [+5] the controller (?) ... and the overseer of cattle of Amun, lord (?)^(f) ... , [+6] I acted as the scribe of the gold^(g) accounts (of) the overseer of the lands of gold of Kush of ...^(h) [+7] Hori, I acted as the chief of the House of Books (?) ...⁽ⁱ⁾ [+8] the king's sons, Paser, I acted as ... the fan-bearer on the king's [+9] right, Yuny ... [+10] ... their hearts ... (j)' » (Pl. II and fig. 46).

(a) Most probably the sign before Mutemhab reads : *Šs-nsw*, 'the royal scribe'.

(b) The word *iry*, introducing the posts occupied by Mutemhab, is expected here; it occurs four times in this text. This is the word used by the High Priest of Amun, Bakenkhonsu in speaking about the successive stages of his life (see below footnote 2 p. 143).

(c) Most probably we have here the title *imy-r šn'*, overseer of the granary. Such a title is attested to one of the officials attached to the service of Setau, as attested in his shrine in Kasr Ibrim, see Ricardo A. CAMINOS, *The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim*, 1968, pl. 14, as scribe of the granary. The title of « steward » given to one of the assistants of viceroys is not otherwise attested before. But Setau had among his numerous titles that of « chief steward of Amun » and Mutemhab may have assumed this modest post to help his master in his more important one. It can be said, however, that the sign *pr* is not clear and it might be read as *šn'*; the title would be then « overseer of the magazine ».

⁽¹⁾ This is usually the case with similar stelae. Most probably Ramses II was shown in the upper register, in whose reign Mutemhab lived and had been in service during his work as assistant of viceroys.



Fig. 46.

(d) In both places, there is a tall sign, resembling that of the *hrp*-sceptre, « controller ».

(e) We may have had here *T³-sty*, thus the whole title would be « the real scribe in Nubia ».

(f) This title was given to some viceroys, such as to Amenhotpe of Thutmosis IV⁽¹⁾. The name of the god is here followed by a sign which looks like *nb*, introducing an epithet which might have been *nswt t'wi*, his well-known epithet as « Lord of The-Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands ».

(g) A certain Harunofar is known to have been the scribe of the gold accounts of the king's son, Huy of Tutankhamen⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ G. REISNER, « The Viceroys of Ethiopia », *JEA*, VI, 1919, p. 32.

⁽²⁾ A.H. GARDINER in Nina DE GARIS DAVIES, *The Tomb of Huy*, 1926, p. 20.

(h) This is an important title given usually to viceroys; it was given to Mermose, Tuthmose, Paser I, Setau, Sety, Hori II and Wenawuat⁽¹⁾. As far as we recall, it was never attested for one of the assistant viceroys, so it has to be taken here as attributed to the viceroy whom Mutemhab served at that time.

(i) '3 n pr is known to mean «the chief of the house», similar to *imy.r pr* «steward»⁽²⁾. This title is here followed by the scribe's outfit *ss*, which we consider to be followed by the sealed roll of papyrus and the three strokes. Thus the whole title would mean «the chief of the House of Books» or «the chief of the library»⁽³⁾.

(j) The small space reserved at the end of the line and showing the post Mutemhab occupied under Yuny, may be that of *idnw* or representative⁽⁴⁾. After the name of Yuny, Mutemhab seems to start to speak about his efficiency in working for these viceroys; we might have had such phrases as 'Iw (*ir.n. i m.hrt*) *ib.sn r* ... «I (acted according) to their desire more than ...»⁽⁵⁾.

Mutemhab, who was responsible for carving this inscription, is unknown before. Here he is relating the successive stages of his career as serving many viceroys of Kush⁽⁶⁾. The only official who left

⁽¹⁾ G. REISNER, *op. cit.*, p. 78 f.

⁽²⁾ H. W. HELCK, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, 1958, p. 379.

⁽³⁾ *Wb.*, 3, 379 : 3.

⁽⁴⁾ For such titles given to non-military people like Mutemhab, see A.R. SCHULMAN, «Military Rank, Title and Organisation in the Egyptian New Kingdom», *MÄS* 6, 1964, p. 34 (74).

⁽⁵⁾ For such phrases with *ib* see : A. PIANKOFF, *Le 'Cœur' dans les textes égyptiens*, 1930, p. 118.

⁽⁶⁾ Many officials who helped the viceroys in controlling Nubia are known to us. G. REISNER, «The Viceroys of Ethiopia», in *JEA*, VI, 1919, pp. 84 ff. and H. GAUTHIER, «Fils royaux de Kouch et le personnel administratif de l'Éthiopie», *Rec. trav.*, XXXIX, 1921, pp. 229 ff. Setau was keen to show many of these in his shrine in Ibrim see : Ricardo A. CAMINOS, *The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim*, 1968, pls. 14, 15, pp. 45 ff.

a somewhat similar account is Amenemope, son of Erti. In Ellesiya he left a graffito of three lines :

- 1) *Representative or wekil of the viceroy Huy, Amenemope, son of Erti.*
- 2) *Scribe of letters of the viceroy, Mermose, Amenemope, son of Erti.*
- 3) *Overseer of the works ... of the viceroy, Tuthmose.*

This man began his career, therefore, under Mermose of Amenophis III (L. 2), continued under Tuthmose of Amenophis IV (L. 3) and at last served Huy of Tutankhamen (L. 1), when he attained his last post and engraved his inscription⁽¹⁾. This is exactly the same order used in the biographical inscription on the statue of Bakenkhonsou : he relates, as High Priest of Amun, the successive stages of his life before he assumed his important post⁽²⁾.

As we have seen above, Mutemhab is referred to by the word «scribe», but this may have been a complement of a title, such as king's scribe. It is to be noted that Mutemhab as the name of a male is not attested; the goddess Mut is rarely found in such names⁽³⁾. According to the surviving part of the inscription, Mutemhab first served Setau, one more viceroy, perhaps Mer(nodjem), then Hori, Paser, Yuny.

Setau must have assumed his function in year 38, the date mentioned in his rock-stela in the area of Abu Simbel⁽⁴⁾, or sometime before, and ended it in the year 44, the date of the stela with the autobiographical

⁽¹⁾ *LD, Text*, vol. V, p. 115. See also REISNER, *op. cit.*, p. 85, No. 6, and p. 86 Nos. 20, 22; GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, p. 106; *Urk.*, IV, 1935, Ll. 12-14.

⁽²⁾ See PLANTIKOW-MÜNSTER, «Die Inschrift des *B:k-n-hnsw* un München», in *ZÄS* 95, 1969, pp. 117 ff.; Ll. 2; 3 on p. 118 and Abb I b.

⁽³⁾ It is attested as a man's name of a certain Sebekemsaf of the Middle Kingdom, RANKE, *Personennamen*, p. 147 : 24. Usually the goddess Mut's name enters as an element of women's names.

⁽⁴⁾ *PM*, VII, p. 118, No. 24. On these stelae the king is shown smiting enemies in front of Horus of Buhen on one of the stelae and before Amenre on the other. As a viceroy of Kush, Setau takes pride in showing himself in scenes where the king shows his prowess, although he himself has not had a military career.

inscription unearthed in Es-Sebua⁽¹⁾, or some time after. Our Hori is not known before; his namesakes who were known as Hori I and Hori II served Setnakht till Ramesses IV. But according to our inscription our Hori must have held his office between Setau and Paser. This latter is undoubtedly the one known as Paser II, son of Minmose⁽²⁾. Finally, we come to Yuny, who according to our inscription, must have followed the above-mentioned viceroys. The prevailing idea about the viceroy of that name is that he served both Sethos I and Ramesses II⁽³⁾. But since this could not be the man mentioned here, was there a second Yuny who served after Setau, Hori and Paser?

In his long study on «Les Fils royaux de Koush et le personnel administratif de l'Éthiopie», H. Gauthier, speaking of Yuny, refers to the idea that there were two viceroys with this name, as believed by Lepsius, Brugsch, Bouriant, Budge and Wiedemann. After passing in review their ideas and examining all the inscriptions with the name of Yuny, he prefers to take these inscriptions as referring to one single viceroy⁽⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁾ A. BARSANTI et H. GAUTHIER, «Stèles à Ouadi Es-Seboua (Nubie)», *ASAE* XI, 1911, pp. 75 ff. (Stele VI), where the viceroy speaks of his buildings in Kush. This stela, which was not spoken of since its discovery about 65 years ago, was recently the subject of two studies: one by K.A. KITCHEN, «The Great Biographical Stela of Setau, Viceroy of Nubia», in *Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica*, 1975/1976, pp. 295 ff., and the second by Wolfgang HELCK, «Die grosse Stele des Vizekönigs Setw aus Wadi-Sabua», in *SAK* 3, 1975, pp. 85 ff. Helck spoke very briefly of our block, depending on the study of Vercoutter, see p. 104 f.

⁽²⁾ Paser I undoubtedly served king Aye, perhaps also Horemhab, REISNER, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 ff. Gauthier is more than sure that this viceroy served Horemhab also, *op. cit.*, pp. 198 ff. Paser III, ignored by Reisner, was mentioned by Gauthier as serving Ramesses IV and V, *op. cit.*, p. 217 f. Neither of them can fit with the period in which Mutemhab lived.

⁽³⁾ This was the idea of REISNER, *op. cit.*, p. 39 f., which was followed by all scholars.

⁽⁴⁾ Pp. 205 ff., cf. p. 207. We do not know on what basis these scholars chose to believe that there were two viceroys with the name of Yuny, but it may be due to the difference between the titles of the owner of Abu Simbel Stela and that of Wadi Abbad.

Reisner spoke of two monuments of Yuny:

- 1) A rock-stela in Abu Simbel.
- 2) A rock-stela in Wadi Abbad⁽¹⁾.

Gauthier added three more:

- 3) A stela in the Cairo Museum.
- 4) A monument spoken of by Bouriant and Brugsch, seen in Aswan.
- 5) A figure of him as a prince on the head of a group of king's sons in the façade of the Small Temple of Abu Simbel. This was reported to have been seen by Gauthier, who took this prince as responsible for building the temple.

As far as I can recall, there is not a single object or inscription with this name as viceroy in the whole area of Aswan, and among the princes shown on the façade of the Small Temple of Abu Simbel none bear his name. Gauthier himself doubted the existence of the former monument, believing that it was taken for the rock-stela of Abu Simbel⁽²⁾. This also may be the case with the latter figure. Let us therefore examine the first three monuments to see whether they refer to one and the same viceroy or to more.

The rock-stela of Wadi Abbad was reproduced by Lepsius, and corrected by Golenischeff, Gunn and Gardiner⁽³⁾. It shows the viceroy kneeling in front of Sethos I with an inscription above him formed of seven lines. In the last column of this inscription are the titles of the owner, which are continued in a horizontal line engraved beneath the whole scene. These read: «*The stablemaster of the (great) stable of 'Sety*

⁽¹⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 39 f.

⁽²⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 206 f. It is strange that Gauthier stated that in 1910 he saw the figure of this viceroy at the head of a list of princes, while among the princes shown on the façade of the temple there is none with such a name. For these princes, see now NOBLECOURT-KUENTZ, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel*, 1968, pp. 22 ff., all of whom are the sons of Queen Nefertari.

⁽³⁾ *PM*, VII, 1951, p. 325, No. 28.

Merenptah, the (chief) charioteer of (his) majesty ...⁽¹⁾, the king's son of Kush and the chief of the Medjay, Yuny ...». Viceroy such as Amenhotep of Tuthmosis IV, Hori II of the reign of Setnakht and Wentawuat of the Ramesside period were stablemasters. Those bearing the title of the first charioteer of his majesty were very often important people⁽²⁾.

The stela of Cairo (JE 34620), which comes from Abydos, shows Yuny adoring the Osiride triad⁽³⁾. He is there given the following titles :

- 1) The overseer of the Foreign Lands in the Southern Lands;
- 2) The king's son in Nubia⁽⁴⁾;
- 3) Overseer of the works in the Domain of Amun;
- 4) Chief of the Medjay⁽⁵⁾.

The last title is common with his namesake in Wadi Abbad, while the first and second show also his relation with Nubia. The third title indicates that he was responsible for work in the Domain of Amun, which may here mean that he was responsible for one of the temples of Thebes or Nubia where the king of the gods had one of his main cults.

⁽¹⁾ It is not clear if he was just a charioteer or first charioteer of the king, and what title has he before the one characterizing him as king's son of Kush.

⁽²⁾ For viceroys having these titles see : REISNER, *op. cit.*, p. 82 f.

⁽³⁾ For this stela, see M.G. DARESSY, «Un 'Fils Royal en Nubie», in *ASAE*, 20, 1920, pp. 129 ff., and GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, 206 f. A.R. SCHULMEN, *op. cit.*, mentions this stela, p. 163, No. 394 as having the title of the stablemaster of the great stable of Seti-Merneptah and charioteer of his majesty, but such titles only figure on the rock stela of the same Yuny. Lopez-Yoyotte, in reviewing the book of Schulman adds that reference to those spoken of by him under the mention of charioteers, see *BiOr*, XXVI, 1969, p. 18, No. 482 bis.

⁽⁴⁾ The title «king's son in Nubia» is not attested elsewhere, but undoubtedly it is inferior to that «king's son of Kush». According to DARESSY, *op. cit.*, p. 142, Yuny was given the former title when he retired. According to GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, p. 207, it was given to him when he fell into disgrace.

⁽⁵⁾ C.F. Nims, in speaking of «A Stela of Penre, Builder of the Ramesseum», *MDAIK*, XIV, 1956, pp. 146 ff., says «It is of interest that among the chiefs of the Medjay of the XIXth Dynasty of whom we have record, most were overseers of works». He enumerates many of these including our Yuny, p. 148 f.

With such activities in common, the owners of both monuments should be one and the same person, although Yuny might have carved this stela before he engraved his rock-stela in Wadi Abbad where he records himself being appointed king's son of Kush⁽¹⁾. But was he the same man who carved the stela of Abu Simbel?

On this stela, the owner is shown leaning forward and adoring Ramesses II. Such a stela must have been carved at the same time as the temples of Abu Simbel, or when, at least, one of them was already achieved or about to be achieved; these undoubtedly took much time. He therefore must be the one that Mutemhab served at the end of his career. Perhaps to distinguish himself from the earlier one who served Sethos I, he calls himself on that stela «Yuny (of) the man of Ihnasiya», an unusual way of pointing to his origin⁽²⁾.

To summarize what we know now about the viceroys who served Sethos I and Ramesses II, we enumerate them in the following order :

- 1) *Yuny I* seems to have been responsible for erecting the Temple of Kanais in Wadi Abbad, where he left a rock-inscription. It is known that a trial for digging there a well for producing subterranean water and that this trial was not successful. Such a trial may have been carried out by this viceroy⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ This is more probable than the hypothesis stating that he engraved the stela after, cf. footnote 4 p. 146. Fakhry discovered, among many monuments he came by in the Luxor Temple in 1934, the lower part of a crouched statue in dark granite with the name of Yuny. This person is given the titles : royal scribe, the head of the horses, chief steward and overseer of the lands of the lord of Upper and Lower Egypt, *ASAE*, 34, 1934, p. 91 f. He stated that the owner of this statue might be identical with the owner of the stela of Abydos, but his titles are different from those of the other, especially as none among them would connect him with Nubia.

⁽²⁾ Grapow, in tracing the names or surnames of certain persons, mentioned that of Yuny as the only one who is related to his origin town by preceding it with the word *rmt n* «man of», see *ZÄS*, 73, 19, p. 48 f. Usually *rmt n*. precedes towns to designate its inhabitants.

⁽³⁾ A sondage is known to have been made by Sethos I to dig a well in Quban, but this seems not to have been successful, as shown by the inscription of Ramesses II there, see Paul TRESSON, *La stèle de Kouban*, 1922, p. 7 (Ll. 21-23).

2) *Amenemopet* who served both Sethos I and Ramesses II. In Aswan this viceroy is shown several times in the company of the former king smiting one of the enemies. One of the main titles of Amenemopet is the charioteer of his Majesty⁽¹⁾; a title which Yuny I also held. Such a title reflects the many battles waged by the king; viceroys of Kush were naturally involved in those taking place in the South. That Amenemopet served Ramesses II is clear from his representations in two scenes of battle with Nubians in the Beit El-Wali Temple of that king⁽²⁾. It is worthwhile to point out that each of the two viceroys has a different nature of work, Amenemopet seems to be a military career, while Yuny I was more concerned with civil work. Were they working together, this cannot be said for sure until we have clear proofs to show that more than one viceroy was acting at the same time.

3) *Hekanakht* seems to have served Ramesses II for a longer period than his predecessors⁽³⁾. He left graffiti in Abri, Semna, Kumma, Semna the Amada Temple, monuments in Quban, and a rather important stela in Abu Simbel⁽³⁾. This stela has two registers. The upper

⁽¹⁾ For this viceroy and his inscriptions with the king smiting an enemy in the Shellal Road and other places, see HABACHI, «The Graffiti and Work of Viceroys in the Region of Aswan», in *Kush* V, 1957, p. 26 f. (Nos. 20-23), (above pp. 48 ff.). See also Fritz HINTZE in *ZÄS*, LXXXVIII, 1962, 40 and Ricardo CAMINOS, *The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim*, 1968, pp. 83 ff. and pls. 39, 40 for the rock-stela of Ibrim, where the king is shown in the same position with the viceroy, once beside him and once kneeling at the bottom of the stela.

⁽²⁾ In Beit El-Wali Temple he is shown once decorated and once more carrying the booty in front of Ramesses II, but both scenes seems to have been added later, *PM*, VII, p. 23. Recently it was properly published by Wente, see RICKE-HUGHES-WENTE, *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*, 1967, p. 12 and pl. 9.

⁽³⁾ Reisner speaks of five monuments of this viceroy and of two possible ones (*JEA*, VI, 1919, p. 40 f.). One of these (12 a) is formed of two similar ones in Amada (add BARGUET-DEWACHTER, *Le temple d'Amada*, II, 1967, C 13 and C 28, pl. 101). The second and third of these 12 b, in Quban (add for c, M. VALLOGGIA, *Recherche sur les messagers (Wpwtw) dans les sources profanes*, 1976, 127-72). The rock-stela of this viceroy in Abu Simbel is enumerated under 12 d (it will be published in our study on the inscriptions of this area), but 12 e and f are to

one shows the king followed by princess Meritamen adoring a triad, while the viceroy is shown kneeling in front of Queen Nefertari. That stela seems to have some relation with the Small Temple built in honour of the Queen and must have been carved when this temple was completed or nearly so. Again, to have Merytamen shown as a grown princess would indicate that the stela was carved about the year 25 of the reign of the king.

4) *'Anhotep*, who served Ramesses II. Of this viceroy we have only the tomb in Dra' Abu el-Naga', South. It has not been published, and is badly damaged, but the cartouches of the king are clear there, as stated in the Bibliography and as assured to me by Lanny Bell⁽¹⁾. Was he the viceroy referred to who remained unnamed on the Stela of Quban commemorating the digging of a well? This cannot be said for certain. But that his tomb was damaged and that he left no other monument may point to the fact that he occupied his post for quite a short time and perhaps fell into disgrace⁽¹⁾.

5) *Huy* left four inscriptions on Seheil, a fifth on the Road Philae-Aswan and a sixth on Biga Island⁽²⁾. None of these would give a clue

be attributed to Huy of Ramesses II (HABACHI in *Kush* V, 1957, 28 (25) and 31 (29)), (above pp. 55 ff.). The last one 12 g referred to by DE MORGAN, *op. cit.*, 27 (207 bis) is difficult to read (HABACHI, *op. cit.*, 25 (24)), (above p. 51 f.). To add to this list are a lintel in Abri, ARKELL, *JEA*, 36, 1950, 32 f., fig. 2 and a much worn stela found in the debris north of Kumma Temple. This was made by *Wrkhy*, son of the viceroy, DUNHAM-JANSSEN, *Semna-Kumma*, 1960, pl. 92 B, p. 124, VALLOGGIA, *op. cit.*, p. 127 f.

⁽¹⁾ His tomb in Dra' Abu el-Naga', South, No. 300, *PM*, I(2), p. 208 f., where it is said that the name of Ramesses II is inscribed. This is also assured to me by my friend Lanny Bell, excavating in the area. Of this man we have just some ushabtis, now kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and in University Museum in Philadelphia, see L. HABACHI, «Miscellanea of Viceroys of Kush and their Assistants Buried in Dra' Abu el-Naga', South», in *JARCE*, XIII, 1976, p. 113 f., pl. XXXIII e, (above p. 113 f.).

⁽²⁾ Huy, who was not known as one of the viceroys of Kush who served Ramesses II, left four inscriptions on Seheil, three were taken to have been carved by Amenhotp-Huy of Tutankhamen, HABACHI, *op. cit.*, 29 f. (Nos. 26-28) and a fourth by Hekanakht

as to when this viceroy served his sovereign. But the stela in Berlin Museum No. 17332 shows how he was responsible for accompanying Mahornofrure, daughter of the Hittite king, on her trip to Egypt⁽¹⁾. This, as is well known, took place in year 34 in the reign of Ramesses II. The titles attributed to him on this stela show undoubtedly his distinguished position, especially in Nubia and in Tharu. Of Nubia, he is given a title, which is not usual, but undoubtedly quite high; this being: *the foremost authority in Nubia*. This title, as well as the others on this stela, may have been given to him on the occasion of the errand entrusted to him, but they show that he was connected with both Nubia in the south and Tharu in the north-east.

6) *Setau*. Helck enumerated under forty-one items the monuments and inscriptions left by this viceroy⁽²⁾. Of these monuments, the stelae he carved in Abu Simbel are dated to year 38⁽³⁾, and undoubtedly he occupied this post in that year or rather before it. On the basis of a rock-stela in Tonqala, it was said that he was still in office in year 63⁽⁴⁾. But this date was taken to be doubtful, even by those scholars who believed that Setau was the last viceroy in the reign of Ramesses II⁽⁵⁾. But now, since we know for sure that he was followed by four viceroys, that date has to be re-examined.

(*ibid.*, p. 31 (No. 29)), (above pp. 52 ff.). He also left a fifth one on the Road Philae-Aswan, taken to have been also carved by the latter viceroy, *ibid.*, p. 26 (No. 25). We may add here a sixth one on Biga Island, taken to be carved by the earlier Huy (REISNER, *op. cit.*, 35 (8e)), but the technique of the carving is the same as adopted in those of his inscriptions on Seheil.

⁽¹⁾ Labib HABACHI, «Four Objects Belonging to Viceroys of Kush», in *Kush*, IX, 1969, p. 210 ff., (above pp. 91 ff.). For the stela of Huy, see pp. 219 ff., fig. 5 and pl. XXIX, (above pp. 102 ff.).

⁽²⁾ SAK 3, 1975, p. 111 ff.

⁽³⁾ *PM*, VII, 118 f. (24). These are the biggest stelae in the area of Abu Simbel.

⁽⁴⁾ This was only published by Arthur WEIGALL, in his *Report of the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, 1907, p. 113, pl. LXIV, 6. It shows Ramesses II offering to Horus of Miam on the upper register and in the lower one, Setau is represented accompanied by a text dated to a year which was thought perhaps to stand for the 63rd year of that king.

⁽⁵⁾ REISNER, *op. cit.*, p. 42 (14 e) and GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

Of this date, we have at the beginning two signs, each standing for ten and at the end three strokes; in between is an effaced space. This was taken by Weigall as perhaps standing for 63, but in a previous study, we have shown that it can as well stand for 39, 47 or 55. But knowing now that four more viceroys served Ramesses II after Setau, it can be said that the stela of Tonqala might have been dated to year 39 or 47; perhaps 39 is the more probable. The big stela left by this viceroy containing his autobiographical inscription is dated to year 44, and most probably that it was carved at the end of his career as viceroy. People are inclined to write up the story of their life when they feel their activities are coming to an end. This happened in old times with many people, such as the High Priest of Amun, Bakenkhonsu, and even in our time as did our very-regretted scholars Gardiner and Junker.

But when did Setau started his career as viceroy? We have seen how Amenemopet and Hekanakht and most probably 'Anhotep preceded him in this post. Huy seems to have followed these but preceded Setau. Those inscriptions in the area of Aswan were carved before he was delegated to accompany Mahornofrure, but very probably he continued in his post after achieving this errand. This may be concluded from the fact that the Marriage Stela is only carved in Abu Simbel, Elephantine and Karnak, and not in any part in Lower Egypt, where this queen seems to have been residing. Huy, being involved in the preparation of such marriage had copies carved of the stela in two places in his territory. That two other copies were engraved in Karnak is not strange; Karnak was the national shrine, where important documents were recorded⁽¹⁾.

Setau served his sovereign from year 36 till about year 46, thus leaving about 20 years for the four viceroys who succeeded him. No monument has yet been discovered of one of these, but of each of the two others we have just one inscription, while the fourth left many inscriptions and more than one object all in Abu Simbel.

⁽¹⁾ For these copies, see Ch. KUENTZ, «Stèle du mariage de Ramsès II», in *ASAE*, 25, 1925, pp. 181 ff. A new publication of these copies was prepared by the late Prof. J. Černý, but already a facsimile of the one in Abu Simbel was published by the Center of Documentation.

7) *Mernodjem*, hitherto unknown, but he left a big rock-stela, which was taken to have probably been carved by Setau. This lies between the Great Temple of Abu Simbel, and the two big stelae of Setau⁽¹⁾. He seems to have been the same person, who left one of the stelae in Wadi Es-Sebua Setau and his assistants, and a second one in Buhen⁽²⁾. There he is described as : *the overseer of the prophets of all the gods . . .*, a title which is attested to him on his rock-stela in Abu Simbel. He may, therefore, have been promoted as viceroy after Setau.

8) *Hori I*. The name of this viceroy followed by the usual determinative is clear in the same inscription⁽³⁾ (L. + 7). Though no inscription of his has yet come down to us, we cannot doubt his existence. But it can be said, that he, as well as Mernodjem, did not occupy their post for long. The two viceroys from Bubastis with the name of Hori, must be considered now as Hori II and Hori III.

9) *Paser II* seems to have been much concerned with the area of Abu Simbel and the neighbourhood. There he carved a niche with a statue carved on the rock to the north of the Small Temple, engraved two stelae to the north and south of the Great Temple and erected two statues which quite likely were standing in this latter temple⁽⁴⁾. He left no traces of his activities in any other place.

10) *Yuny II* : The only monument he erected is the rock-stela of which we have spoken earlier. He may not have survived long enough in his post to be followed by Messui, who served Merenptah.

⁽¹⁾ Owing to the bad state of this inscription, only Lepsius copied a part of the two columns of inscriptions, *LD, Text*, III, 195 d. Even there the copy is not exact, but it gives an idea that Setau, thought to have been responsible for the stela, is not true.

⁽²⁾ For these stelae, see GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, p. 234 f.

⁽³⁾ HELCK, in *SAK* 3, 1975, p. 104 did not mention this viceroy, nor Vercoutter, *Kush*, VI, p. 156 f., but his name is clear from the view of the block.

⁽⁴⁾ For the two statues, see *PM*, VII, 108, 110, for the niche, see p. 117 (No. I) and for the stelae see p. 118 (Nos. 11, 14). It is to be noted that he is shown on two stelae with identical inscriptions of the scribe of the letters, Kh'y, son of Seba ; these were found in between the two temples of Abu Simbel, GAUTHIER, in *ASAE*, XXXVI, 1936, pp. 49 ff.

The most recent reference to the rock-stela carved by Yuny in Abu Simbel was made by Noblecourt-Kuentz in their study of «*Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel*». There they say⁽¹⁾ :

Un dernier élément est à prendre en considération : c'est la présence de la stèle rupestre du vice-roi de Nubie, Iouny, réservée dans la pierre au nord de la façade. On l'a dit plus haut, le relief et l'inscription n'existaient pas en cet endroit avant la fondation du temple, puisque le haut fonctionnaire s'adresse justement à son fondateur Ra'amsès II. Elle fut donc ménagée dans le rocher au moment de la composition de la façade, comme on le voit, et elle constitue un peu la «signature» de celui qui fut, très probablement, chargé de surveiller les travaux. Or, Iouny passa une grande partie de sa carrière sous Séthi I^{er}, et ne connut, semble-t-il, que le début du règne de Ra'amsès II. Il fut très vite, sous le grand roi, remplacé par Hekanakht, puis par Paser et Séthou. C'est donc très probablement au début du règne de Ra'amsès II qu'il a pu figurer à côté du petit temple, si bien même que Reisner en avait été amené à déduire que Séthi I^{er} pouvait être vivant du temps de la visite de Iouny en Abou Simbel.

But some time before they made this study, Louis-A. Christophe wrote his article on «*Les Temples d'Abou Simbel et la Famille de Ramsès II*», in which he studied the dates in which the two temples of Abu Simbel were completed, depending on the representations of members of the royal family in these temples. There he comes to the conclusion that the Great Temple was already carved, but partly decorated before year 26, and it was totally decorated before year 34. For the Small Temple, he states that it was completed during the lifetime of Queen Nefertari, who died before year 34⁽²⁾.

Such conclusions fit with those we have reached in our present study. Hekanakht who assumed his function until about year 30 engraved his stela when the Small Temple was completed or nearly so, while

⁽¹⁾ 1968, p. 119 f.

⁽²⁾ *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXXVIII, 1965, pp. 107 ff. For the Great Temple, see pp. 125 ff. and for the Small Temple, see pp. 128 ff.

Setau, Mernodjem, Paser and Yuny, who served Ramesses II in the last half of his reign, engraved their rock-stelae when the two temples were already completed.

Thus ten viceroys served Sethos I and Ramesses II, one of them, not two, served both sovereigns, showing, therefore, that one of the arguments said to prove their coregency is no more valid⁽¹⁾. An inscription in Abu Simbel revealed the existence of a hitherto unknown viceroy of Ramesses II: Mernodjem. The inscription of Mutemhab, though incomplete, and having some unclear signs has added two more: Hori I and Yuny II. This brings the number of the viceroys who served Sethos I and Ramesses II to 10 instead of five known before. Mutemhab inscription, it has to be said, helped us in establishing the order of the viceroys who served Sethos I and Ramesses II, and especially those who served the latter king in the second half of his reign.

⁽¹⁾ Reisner takes that as one proof for the coregency, stating that Amenemopet and Yuny served both kings and that Amenemopet was succeeded by Yuny. According to him, Yuny was later dismissed by Ramesses II to be replaced by another viceroy, perhaps Hekanakht, *op. cit.*, 40. Hekanakht, now sure to have been responsible for the work of the well dug in Quban, was already a viceroy in the 3rd year of Ramesses II reign, and he must have replaced then Amenemopet. K. SEELE, in speaking of «The Coregency of Ramesses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak», *SAOC* 19, 1940, p. 36 agreed with Reisner and so did William J. MURNANE, «The Earliest Reign of Ramesses II and his Coregency with Sety I», in *JNES*, 34, 1975, pp. 153 ff., cf. p. 161. Now with the proofs showing that Yuny I served only Sethos I, such an indication of coregency should not be put in consideration.

CHAPTER IX

VICEROYS OF KUSH DURING THE NEW KINGDOM

THE «overseers of the southern countries» as viceroys of Nubia during the 18th to 20th dyn. were also called «king's sons» up to the time of Amenophis II, later on «king's sons of Kush». This title originated from the second Intermediate Period, when commanders of locally settled troops (*tzw*) received this honorary title⁽¹⁾, perhaps to exclude them from the authority of the local mayor. Thus the commander of the Nubian fortress Buhen was also called «king's son», even during the rule of Nubian kings at the end of this period. When Egyptian rule was reestablished in Nubia, the title «king's son» was retained, although the title «commander of Buhen» became obsolete.

The authority of the K. depended on many factors, the most important being the vast extent of land controlled by the Egyptians in the South, sometimes including the area of Hieraconpolis in the North to Gebel Barkal in the South⁽²⁾. He was helped by a «deputy of Wawat» and a «deputy of Kush»⁽³⁾ and by a colonel (*hrj pdwt*) of the Nubian troops. The centre of administration was usually Aniba.

1. It is doubtful who was the first K.: a «king's son» *Tj*, who appears in a graffito at Arminna-East together with the name of king Kamose, as well as a

2. «king's son» *Dhwj*, who left a graffito at the same place mentioning king Ahmose⁽⁴⁾, have been taken by Simpson to be the

⁽¹⁾ Bettina SCHMITZ, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s'-njswt «Königssohn»*, Bonn 1976, 245 ff.

⁽²⁾ *Urk.* IV, 988, 12; 2064, 2. 9. See SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 177 ff.

⁽³⁾ *Urk.* IV, 2067, 12-13.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. WEIGALL, *Report on Lower Nubia*, 127, Tf. 65, 4.

first K. ⁽¹⁾, but they may have been «real» king's sons. Later on Teti, a scribe of the divine offerings of Amun, called his grandfather *Twry* and his great-grandfather

3. *Z3-t-jjt* «King's son» and «overseer of the southern countries» ⁽²⁾ thus pointing to the latter as the first K. It is true that *Twry*, on his own statue from Kerma, calls his father simply «scribe of the divine offerings of Amun» ⁽³⁾, but this may be due to the fact that most members of the family held this rather important title. Nevertheless, Teti's giving the title K. to his great-grandfather cannot be easily pushed aside.

4. *Twry*, however, is the first well documented viceroy of Nubia. He started his career as «scribe of a temple», later became «father of the god, overseer of cattle, mayor and first prophet» ⁽⁴⁾, but we do not know in which town. In the time of Ahmose, he was promoted to «commander of Buhen» and «king's son» ⁽⁵⁾. Later, when Amenophis I reconstructed the Egyptian administration, he lost the title of «commander of Buhen» and is now called «overseer of the southern countries» as shown by graffiti from year 7 ⁽⁶⁾ and 8 ⁽⁷⁾. He built the temple of Dedun-Month at Uronarti for Amenophis I ⁽⁸⁾. When Amenophis I died after a reign of 22 years Thutmose I ascended the

⁽¹⁾ *Fouilles à Nubie* 1961-3, 172-3 and, more recently SIMPSON et al., *Hekanefer*, New Haven - Philadelphia 1963, 34, pl. 17b, fig. 27.

⁽²⁾ Brit. Mus. 888 = BM Stelae V, 25; cf. HABACHI, in *Kush* 7, 1959, 45 ff., (above pp. 65 ff.).

⁽³⁾ Brit. Mus. 1279 = GAUTHIER, in *Rec. trav.* 39, 1920, 185; HABACHI, in *Kush* 9, 1961, 210 ff., (above pp. 191 ff.).

⁽⁴⁾ Graffiti at Abu Simbel and near the temple of Abahuda (GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, 182 ff.; SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *op. cit.*, 197 n. 7; HABACHI, in *Kush* 7, 1959, 57), (above pp. 81 ff.).

⁽⁵⁾ Graffito at Buhen: LD, *Text* V, 168; RANDALL MACIVER, *Buhen*, Philadelphia 1911, 88.

⁽⁶⁾ Graffito Semna = BREASTED, in *AJSL*, 1908, 108.

⁽⁷⁾ *Urk.* IV, 78. King's son on statue base from Buhen: H.S. SMITH, *The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions*, London 1976, 132, pl. 31, 3; cf. jar-sealings *op. cit.*, 173.

⁽⁸⁾ HABACHI, in *Kush* 7, 1959 57 f., (above p. 82 f.).

throne and informed his viceroy in a formal letter ⁽¹⁾. On the 22. of 1. *šmw* of year 3 of Thutmose I, *Twry* reports the building of a channel east of Sehel ⁽²⁾. He seemed to have died shortly after this date. His son Ahmose *P3-twj* donated a statue of his father into the temple of king Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari ⁽³⁾, mentioning his rewards. His memory lived on for a short while ⁽⁴⁾. His tomb was probably at Thebes-West, as some funerary cones of his has been found at this place ⁽⁵⁾.

5. The successor of *Twry* was *Snj* known by a biographical inscription at Semna ⁽⁶⁾ in which he reports that king Ahmose installed him as «overseer of ...»; in the time of Amenophis I he became «overseer of the granary of Amun to direct construction work at Karnak. As at this time overseers of the granary of Amun at the same time were mayors of Thebes, *Snj* bears this title at Kumme ⁽⁷⁾. Therefore he probably is identical with the mayor of Thebes *Snj-rs* who is mentioned in the tomb of his son *Dhwj-nfr* at Western Thebes ⁽⁸⁾. Thutmose I promoted him to «king's son» and «overseer of the southern lands», and he grew old during the short reign of Thutmose II ⁽⁹⁾.

6. Hatshepsut replaced him by a new viceroy whose name later was erased on every monument of his. His name has been reconstructed

⁽¹⁾ *Urk.* IV, 79 ff.

⁽²⁾ *Urk.* IV, 89 f.

⁽³⁾ Wolfgang HELCK, *Inschriften der 2. ZwZt*, KÄT, Wiesbaden 1975, 114 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ Ricardo CAMINOS, *Gebel es-Silsila*, London 1963, I, 59 f.; pl. 46 (vezir *Wsr*).

⁽⁵⁾ DAVIES-MACADAM, *Funerary Cones no. 575. Scarabs: El Arabah*, pl. 25; Percy E. NEWBERRY, *Scarabs*, London 1906, pl. 26 Nr. 35; from Semna: HABACHI, in *Kush* 7, 1959, 60, (above p. 86).

⁽⁶⁾ *Urk.* IV, 39 ff.

⁽⁷⁾ *Urk.* IV, 142.

⁽⁸⁾ *Urk.* IV, 135; TT 317.

⁽⁹⁾ *Urk.* IV, 41, 8. Breasted mentions a third graffito at Kumme: *AJSL* 1908, 105. He may have been buried at Theban necropolis, since funerary cones with his name were here discovered: DAVIES-MACADAM, *Funerary Cones*, Nos. 342-3.

as *Jnbj*⁽¹⁾ or *Jnj('ani)*⁽²⁾, according to the traces. He was already in office in year 2 of Thutmose III (= Hatshepsut)⁽³⁾.

7. The graffito at Tombos, where the name of a viceroy is also deleted and which is dated to year 20 of Hatshepsut⁽⁴⁾, belongs to another viceroy, as we know of a king's son and overseer of the southern countries *Jmn-m-hw* in year 15-18 of Thutmose III (4. *šmw*, day 16)⁽⁵⁾.

8. In year 23 of Thutmose III we meet a viceroy *Nhj*, formerly herald (*wḥmw*) and overseer of the guard, who accompanied his lord on his first campaign to Syria⁽⁶⁾. Another inscription of his, dated to year 25, was found on the island of Sai⁽⁷⁾. An inscription dated to year 52 at Qasr Ibrim⁽⁸⁾ is sometimes spoken of as being at Ellesiyeh⁽⁹⁾ and is attributed to *Nhj*; but this is rightly contradicted by R. Caminos⁽¹⁰⁾. There are many inscriptions of *Nhj* from Nubia: at Buhen⁽¹¹⁾, Semna⁽¹²⁾, Sai⁽¹³⁾ (where he built a chapel⁽¹⁴⁾ and erected a statue⁽¹⁵⁾, Kumme⁽¹⁶⁾,

⁽¹⁾ SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 175 f.

⁽²⁾ HINTZE, in *Kush* 13, 1965, 14 n. 12 according to Edel.

⁽³⁾ *Urk.* IV, 194, 2. BM Stelae V, 34-35 (= *Urk.* IV, 464) could belong to him too.

⁽⁴⁾ SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *op. cit.*, 208 = *Urk.* IV, 1375.

⁽⁵⁾ At Shalfak: HINTZE, *op. cit.*, pl. 3 a; at Tangur; *id.*, *ibid.*, pl. 3 b.

⁽⁶⁾ *Urk.* IV, 806 ff.

⁽⁷⁾ VERCOUTTER, in *Kush* 4, 1956, 74; BREASTED, in *AJSL* 1908, 98.

⁽⁸⁾ WEIGALL, *Report*, 121 = *Urk.* IV, 983.

⁽⁹⁾ Not Kasr Ibrim (*BAR* II, 8 652).

⁽¹⁰⁾ Ricardo A. CAMINOS, «The Shrines and Rock Inscriptions of Kasr Ibrim», London 1968, *EES* 32, 43: The date is controversial, the name of *Nhj* is not mentioned; *id.*, «The New-Kingdom Temple of Buhen I», *EES* 33, 1974, 23. 48. 50. 76-88; DEWACHTER, in *RdE* 28, 1976, 151 ff.

⁽¹¹⁾ *Urk.* IV, 985.

⁽¹²⁾ *Urk.* IV, 987.

⁽¹³⁾ *Urk.* IV, 989; a door-jamb: VERCOUTTER, in *Kush* 6, 1958, 158.

⁽¹⁴⁾ VERCOUTTER, in *BSFE* 58, 1970, 28. 31.

⁽¹⁵⁾ VERCOUTTER, in *CRIPPEL*, pl. 4.

⁽¹⁶⁾ BREASTED, in *AJSL* 1908, 105.

Sehel⁽¹⁾, and a shrine at Kasr Ibrim⁽²⁾. There has also been found a doorjamb from his residency at Aniba⁽³⁾. His tomb is situated on the hill of Qurnet Mura'i at Western Thebes⁽⁴⁾ like those of other viceroys; he dedicated a statue into the temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari⁽⁵⁾; another was found on Elephantine⁽⁶⁾.

9. According to Simpson, a graffito at Arminna-West⁽⁷⁾ belonged to a viceroy *S*, dated by him to the first quarter of the 18th dyn. and according to Budge, a statue of a viceroy called User was discovered at Uronarti⁽⁸⁾.

10. Amenophis II gave the office of K. to one of his comrades-in-arms, *Wsr-Stt*. A letter written by the king to *Wsr-Stt* is dated to year 23 of this king⁽⁹⁾. No biography is extant, so we know nothing about his career. His name was later deleted, perhaps in connection with disturbances during the accession of Thutmose IV. He left many inscriptions and monuments in Nubia: a shrine at Kasr Ibrim⁽¹⁰⁾, stelae at Wadi Halfa⁽¹¹⁾, Amara-West⁽¹²⁾, Buhen⁽¹³⁾ and Semna⁽¹⁴⁾. There is one

⁽¹⁾ HABACHI, in *Kush* 5, 1957, 16, (above p. 34).

⁽²⁾ CAMINOS, *Ibrim* (s. n. 31), 35 ff.

⁽³⁾ GEORG STEINDORFF, *Aniba II*, Glückstadt 1937, 34 f.

⁽⁴⁾ *PM*, I², 1, 461 no. D 1; Pyramidion Florenz no. 1678; sarcophagus: *Urk.* IV, 983; funerary statuettes = CG 47624; William M. Flinders PETRIE, *Six Temples at Thebes*, London 1896, pl. 2 fig. 1; *Urk.* IV, 983.

⁽⁵⁾ Edouard NAVILLE, *XIth Dyn. Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, London 1907-13, III, pl. 11 A.

⁽⁶⁾ DARESSY, in *ASAE* 20, 1920, 143 f.; NEWBERRY, in *JEA* 19, 1933, 53.

⁽⁷⁾ SIMPSON, in *Fouilles à Nubie* (1961-3), Kairo 1967, 173; *id.*, *Heka-nefer*, 33 f., pl. 17 a. In this publication he fixes the date of this viceroy (not attested elsewhere) to the first half of the 18th dyn. Cf. SAYCE, in *Rec. trav.* 16, 1894, 172 f.; WEIGALL, *Report*, 127, pl. 66 above; REISNER, in *JEA* 6, 1920, 87 no. 31.

⁽⁸⁾ *PM*, VII, 143.

⁽⁹⁾ *Urk.* IV, 1343 = HELCK, in *JNES* 14, 1955, 22 ff.

⁽¹⁰⁾ CAMINOS, *Ibrim*, 59 ff.; *Urk.* IV, 1345 ff.

⁽¹¹⁾ *Urk.* IV, 1486.

⁽¹²⁾ *Urk.* IV, 1481 ff.

⁽¹³⁾ MACIVER, *Buhen*, 96. Two stelae are here mentioned: Brit. Mus. 823 (s. n. 48) and 1188.

⁽¹⁴⁾ *Urk.* IV, 1343; BMFA Boston 23, 26.

graffito at Gebel Tingar and 6 others on Sehel which may be connected with the erection of a chapel on this island, and an eighth one at Ras Sehel recording a digging of 5 channels in the First Cataract⁽¹⁾. One of his statues is now at Khartum⁽²⁾, another was found at Deir el-Medineh⁽³⁾. His tomb is unknown, but as a funerary statuette with his name was found in the Theban necropolis⁽⁴⁾, it could have been also at Qurnet Mura'i. Some members of his staff are known⁽⁵⁾.

11. Usually a viceroy *Jmn-htp* is listed in the reign of Thutmose IV, due to the presence of a graffito of a viceroy *Jmn-htp* on Sehel⁽⁶⁾. Though it is not dated to Thutmose IV, its owner may be identical with that of a stela in the Ashmolean Museum showing the names of Thutmose IV and of an *Jmn-htp* described as «confidant of Kush» and «overseer of the cattle of Amun»⁽⁷⁾.

12. On a stela from Semna, commemorating a victory of Amenophis III in the South, we meet the name of his viceroy *Mrj-msw*⁽⁸⁾. He left some graffiti in Wadi Abbad⁽⁹⁾, at Tombos⁽¹⁰⁾,

⁽¹⁾ HABACHI, in *Kush* 5, 1957, 17 ff. (nos. 4-11), (above pp. 35 ff.). A fragment of a stela of this viceroy was found at Gebel Tingar: Labib HABACHI and Hans GOEDICKE, *Graffiti outside Assuan*, in press. Other monuments in Kumme, Sai see CAMINOS, *Buhen* II, 107 no. 5.

⁽²⁾ DEWACHTER, in *Archeologia* 72, 1974, 54 ff.

⁽³⁾ *Urk.* IV, 1487 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ CHASSINAT, in *BIFAO* 10, 1912, 161.

⁽⁵⁾ Deputy *Sn-nfr* (HABACHI, in *Kush* 5, 1957, 18 no. 5), (above p. 36 f.); deputy *Mhw* (*op. cit.*, 21 no. 11; *id.*, in *Kush* 9, 1961, 214 ff.), (above pp. 96 ff.). The viceroy *Wzjr-msw* very probably did not exist; this was previously suggested by HABACHI, in *Bul. de l'Inst. d'Égypte* 59, 1965, p. 70 (below p. 178).

⁽⁶⁾ *Urk.* IV, 1637 (551); HABACHI, in *Kush* 5, 1957, 22 no. 12, (above p. 43). This man has the typical titles of viceroys.

⁽⁷⁾ *Urk.* IV, 1636 (550). A statue with the name of *Jmn-htp* was found in the tomb of *Jmn-htp (Hwj)*, viceroy of Tutankhamen (*Urk.* IV, 1635 (549) = ALLIOT, in *BIFAO* 32, 1932, 71); this statue, however, must belong to the owner of this tomb TT 40 and not to our *Jmn-htp*.

⁽⁸⁾ *Urk.* IV, 1659 ff. (564) = BM Stelae VIII, pl. 20.

⁽⁹⁾ *PM*, VII, 325 (30).

⁽¹⁰⁾ *LD, Text* V, 244 = *Urk.* IV, 1933 (722); *LD, Text* IV, 117 = *Urk.* IV, 1933 (722).

Aswan⁽¹⁾, Gebel Silsila⁽²⁾, Ellesija⁽³⁾ and Wadi Allaqi⁽⁴⁾. From his tomb in Western Thebes there came parts of his sarcophagus⁽⁵⁾, canopic jars⁽⁶⁾, funerary cones⁽⁷⁾ and a statuette⁽⁸⁾. Some members of his staff dedicated monuments in and outside his tomb⁽⁹⁾.

13. His scribe *Jmn-m-jpt*⁽¹⁰⁾ also served the successor of *Mrj-msw*, *Dhwj-msw*, in the time of Amenophis IV. A statue of this viceroy was found at Gebel Barkal⁽¹¹⁾ and graffiti at Seheil⁽¹²⁾. He is the first K. bearing the title «overseer of the gold-producing countries of Amun». His other title «overseer of masons» could point to his control over the erection of the temple at Sesebi. His stela was found at Buhen.

⁽¹⁾ Opposite Elephantine: *Urk.* IV, 1933 (721 a) = HABACHI, in *Kush* 5, 1957, 23 no. 14; in Sehel: *Ibid.*, 22 f., no. 13; on the road Philae-Aswan, *ibid.*, 23 f. no. 15; *Urk.* IV, 1933 (721 b); on Bigga: *LD*, III, 82 b and *LD, Text* IV, 174. One of the assistants carved an inscription on Hassanawarti, opposite Elephantine: HABACHI, *op. cit.*, 24 no. 16. (For all these graffiti, see pp. 43 ff.). He left also stelae on Elephantine: CGC 34139. 34140.

⁽²⁾ *LD, Text* IV, 95; CAMINOS and JAMES, *Gebel el-Silsilah* I, 86 ff. as he was most probably owner of shrine no. 26.

⁽³⁾ Mentioned by *Jmn-m-jpt*, see note 71: 10 below.

⁽⁴⁾ PIETROVSKY, in *Proceedings of the 26th Congress of Orientalists*, New Delhi 1964, 13 f.; *ders.*, in: *Fouilles à Nubie* (1961-1963), Kairo, 1967, 136, Tf. 27. 29.

⁽⁵⁾ TT 383; cf. *PM*, I, 2^a, 436. ŽABA, in *ASAE* 50, 1950, 509 = *Urk.* IV, 1934 (723).

⁽⁶⁾ MASPERO, *Mummies Royales*, 583.

⁽⁷⁾ DAVIES-MACADAM, *Funerary Cones*, nos. 169. 170.

⁽⁸⁾ BERGMANN, in *Rec. trav.* 12, 1892, 1.

⁽⁹⁾ Scribe *Hwj* (*Urk.* IV, 1935), scribe *Pn-mj'm* (BM Stelae VII, 12); sandal-bearer *Jmn-m-wj'* (VARILLE, in *ASAE* 45, 1947, 33), partly found outside the tomb. His servant *Nhtw* dedicated a stela at Binban, near Kom Ombo (*Urk.* IV, 1934 (724 C)).

⁽¹⁰⁾ *LD, Text* V, 115 = *Urk.* IV, 1935 (725).

⁽¹¹⁾ *PM*, VII, 220 and 130 successively.

⁽¹²⁾ HABACHI, in *Kush* 5, 1957, 25 nos. 17-18 (above p. 47 f.). For this viceroy cf. now Ingeborg MÜLLER, in *Ägypten und Kusch*, Fs Hintze, Berlin 1977, 325-329.

14. The scribe *Jmn-m-jpt*, just mentioned, became «deputy of Kush» under the viceroy *Jmn-htp* (Huj) during the reign of Tutankhamen. This viceroy's tomb at Qurnet Murra'i is famous because of its interesting paintings⁽¹⁾. *Jmn-htp* is perhaps identical with the «letter-writer of viceroy *Mrj-msw*» of this name⁽²⁾, so that he started his career in the administration of Nubia. As viceroy he built the temple of Tutankhamen at Faras⁽³⁾ called *Shtp-ntrw-Nb-hprw-R*, erected a statue at El-kab⁽⁴⁾ and dedicated a stela in the temple of Karnak⁽⁵⁾. A graffito from Bigga⁽⁶⁾ is not to be assigned to him, nor the graffiti from Sehel⁽⁷⁾. These graffiti with the name of *Hwj* belong to the viceroy of this name in the time of Ramesses II⁽⁸⁾, Huj II. The wife of our *Hwj*, *T3-m-w'd-sj*, was «member of the harim of the deified Tutankhamen at Faras», one of his sons «driver of the king's chariot, messenger of the king», the other «overseer of the chariot-troops»⁽⁹⁾.

15. A stela from a grotto at Gebel esh-Shams shows that the K. of king Eje was *P3-sr*⁽¹⁰⁾ who kept his office even under Haremhab⁽¹¹⁾. There exists another stela mentioning his name⁽¹²⁾, and some stelae of his subordinates give his name, too⁽¹³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ TT 40. — The statue published by ALLIOT, in *BIFAO* 32, 1932, 71 = *Urk.* IV, 1635 comes from this tomb; see above footnote p. 160.

⁽²⁾ *Urk.* IV, 1935, 8.

⁽³⁾ *Urk.* IV, 2073 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ *Urk.* IV, 2073 (793); R. DRENKHAN, in *SAK* 3, 1975, 47 n. 21 spoke of this statue as that of Huj II from the time of Ramesses II, considering this viceroy to have served after Setau, which, however, is not sure, see below.

⁽⁵⁾ *Urk.* IV, 2075 (795).

⁽⁶⁾ *Urk.* IV, 2076 (796), but rather of Huj II under Ramesses II, for the technique of carving is exactly like that of the graffiti of Huj II on Sehel, see below.

⁽⁷⁾ As shown in n. 57, this graffito belongs to *Jmn-htp* of Thutmosis IV.

⁽⁸⁾ HABACHI, in *Kush* 5, 1957, 29 ff., nos. 26-9, (above pp. 31 ff.).

⁽⁹⁾ *Urk.* IV, 2065, 8-9 and 2067, 1-2; see also DAVIES-GARDINER, *Tomb of Huy*, 7.

⁽¹⁰⁾ LD, III, 114 c.f.h.; LD, Text V, 179 (A better transcription of this name is *P3-sjrw*).

⁽¹¹⁾ *Urk.* IV, 2112 (823).

⁽¹²⁾ Louvre C 22 = MORET, *Cat. Musée Guimet*, 4 ff., pl. 20 no. 22.

⁽¹³⁾ Overseer of works *P3-n-p3-m'hn*; (Graffito at Sehel = HABACHI, *loc. cit.*, 26

16. *Jmn-m-jpt*, the son of the viceroy *P3-sr*, started his career as «First driver of the king's chariot». Four graffiti near Aswan along the old road from Aswan to Philae are to be connected with a campaign of Sethos I against Nubia at the end of his reign⁽¹⁾. *Jmn-m-jpt* erected stelae at Kasr Ibrim⁽²⁾, Buhen⁽³⁾ and Dosheh⁽⁴⁾. According to a relief in the temple of Beit el-Wali he was still in office at the beginning of the reign of Ramesses II⁽⁵⁾.

17. It seems, however, that *Jmn-m-jpt* did not follow his father immediately, for we find a viceroy of Sethos I. *Jwnj* (I.) between⁽⁶⁾. In his youth he had been «superintendent of the stable of king Sethos I»⁽⁷⁾. As viceroy he was also «chief of building operations in the temple of Amun»⁽⁸⁾, possibly at Thebes⁽⁹⁾.

18. Numerous are the viceroys who served under Ramesses II: *Hq3-nht* followed *Jmn-m-jpt*; he left monuments in Kuban⁽¹⁰⁾, Abri⁽¹¹⁾,

no. 19), (above p. 48 f.). SCHULMAN, in *JARCE* 4, 1965, 61 ff., speaks of the general *Nht-Min*, who left ushabtis in Tutankhamen's tomb, to have served as viceroy before *P3-sr*, but nothing justifies such a statement.

⁽¹⁾ HABACHI, *loc. cit.*, 26 f. no. 20-23, (above p. 49 f.).

⁽²⁾ CAMINOS, *Kasr Ibrim*, 83 ff., pl. 40.

⁽³⁾ MACIVER, *Buhen*, 77; SMITH, *Fortress of Buhen. Inscriptions*, pl. 81, 3.

⁽⁴⁾ LD, III, 141 k.

⁽⁵⁾ HERBERT RICKE, GEORGE R. HUGHES and EDWARD F. WENTE, *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*, Chicago 1967, 12, pl. 9; ROEDER, *Bet el-Wali*, pl. 31; LD, III, 176 f.

⁽⁶⁾ *Jmn-m-jpt* served also Ramesses II, while *Jwnj* I was in office only in the reign of Sethos I.

⁽⁷⁾ In his rock-inscription in Wadi Abbad, see *PM*, VII, 325 (28).

⁽⁸⁾ Stela at Abydos: DARESSY, in *ASAE* 20, 1920, 129 ff.

⁽⁹⁾ See FAKHRY, in *ASAE* 34, 1934, 91 f.

⁽¹⁰⁾ QUIBELL, in *ASAE* 3, 1902, 240; he may also have been responsible for other monuments there, including the Kuban Stela (REISNER, in *JEA* 6, 1919, 45, also MICHEL VALLOGGIA, *Recherche sur les «messagers» (wpwtjw)*, Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie II, Hautes Etudes Orientales 6, Genf-Paris 1976, 127 n. 72).

⁽¹¹⁾ ARKELL, in *JEA* 36, 1950, 32 f., fig. 2.

Sai⁽¹⁾ and Semna, also graffiti at Amara West, Abu Simbel and Amada⁽²⁾.

19. *Hwj* seems to have assumed his post before he was delegated to accompany the Hittite princess to Egypt⁽³⁾. He left a graffito along the road Aswan-Philae⁽⁴⁾ and four others on Sehel⁽⁵⁾ (*Huj* II).

20. *Stw* left many monuments⁽⁶⁾, some of them dating his term of office to the middle of Ramesses II' reign⁽⁷⁾. He was buried in TT 289.

21.-25. In the later years of this king we find *P3-sr* II, *Jwnj* II and possibly viceroys with the names of *Mr-ndm*, 'n-*htp* and *Hrj* I. All the monuments of *P3-sr* II were found in Abu Simbel : two statues, a niche and three stelae⁽⁸⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *PM*, VII, 118 (17), 164. 166.

⁽²⁾ Paul BARGUET et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, Centre de Documentation, Kairo 1967, Tf. 101 (171 C 13; 172 C 28); his son, the royal messenger *Wrwr* (or *Wrhj*) left a stela at Kumme, see DUNHAM-JANSSEN, *Semna-Kumma*, 124 (24-4-54). He left a graffito in Akshe (*Kush* 12, 1964, 97, pl. 31 b), and built a house in Buhen : SMITH, *op. cit.*, 104.

⁽³⁾ Stela No. 17732 Staatl. Mus. Berlin, cf. HABACHI, in *Kush* 9, 1961, 219 ff., pl. 29. For a lintel of the governor *P(3)-n-mhjt* together with the viceroy, see *ibid.*, 216 f., pl. 28 (lower), (above pp. 99 ff.).

⁽⁴⁾ This graffito formerly was considered to be of *Hq3-nht*, cf. HABACHI, in *Kush* 5, 1957, 28 f. (25), (above pp. 52 ff.).

⁽⁵⁾ *Id.*, *ibid.*, 28 ff., (26-29), pl. 8, (above pp. 52 ff.).

⁽⁶⁾ For a list of his monuments see HELCK, in *SAK* 3, 1975, 111 ff. Stela from Wadi es-Sabua : *id. ibid.*, 85 and KITCHEN, in *Fs Vergote*, 295 ff. His inscriptions from Buhen : SMITH, *Buhen*. Inscriptions, pass.

⁽⁷⁾ Year 38 : 2 stelae from Abu Simbel; year 44 biographical stela from Wadi es-Sabua. Year 63 from Tonqola, however, is doubtful. Possibly we have to read either year 39 or year 47 (but not later) to allow four or five other viceroys to serve during the remaining years of Ramesses II.

⁽⁸⁾ One statue is headless and still left in the Great Temple : *PM*, VII, 108; the second complete one is in the Brit. Mus. : *PM*, VII, 110; for the niche with statue inside : *op. cit.*, 117, and for the stela 118. The viceroy is shown in front of Amun on two almost identical stelae of a certain *Hj*, son of *Sb*; : GAUTHIER, in *ASAE* 36, 1936, 49 ff., pl. 3.

According to an inscription from Sai, the above mentioned *Hrj*, *P3-sr* II and *Jwnj* II seem to have been the last viceroys of Ramesses II⁽¹⁾. *Jwnj* II thus must have been different from *Jwnj* I from the reign of Sethos I.

Mr-ndm is only known from a graffito from Abu Simbel⁽²⁾, and 'n-*htp* from his tomb at Dra' Abu'l-Naga⁽³⁾.

26. Two viceroys are now known to have served Merenptah : The first was the well-known viceroy *Mswj*, whose name was found in Aksha⁽⁴⁾, Bigga⁽⁵⁾, Beit el-Wali⁽⁶⁾, Amada⁽⁷⁾ and along the road Aswan-Philae⁽⁸⁾. Some of these inscriptions are partly damaged, but not intentionally⁽⁹⁾.

27. However, all the graffiti left by *H-m-trj*, who served the same king, were intentionally effaced, but luckily enough traces are left to make sure their identity. One of these is in the Buhen Temple of

⁽¹⁾ For this block (perhaps part of a wall) cf. VERCOUTTER, in *Kush* 6, 1958, pl. 45 b and HELCK, *op. cit.*, 104 f. On this monument and the viceroys mentioned on it, see HABACHI, *Viceroys serving Sethos I and Ramesses II*, above pp. 139 ff.

⁽²⁾ This viceroy left an important rock-stela in Abu Simbel, mentioned in *PM*, VII, 118 (15) as perhaps belonging to *Stw*.

⁽³⁾ TT 300 = *PM*, I, 2*, 380 f., where remains of cartouches of Ramesses II could be seen. This man is also known by his ushabtis : HABACHI, in *JARCE* 13, 1976, 114, (above p. 113). For the viceroys, who were buried in the Theban Necropolis, cf. *op. cit.*, 113 ff., (above p. 111 f.).

⁽⁴⁾ *LD*, Text V, 188.

⁽⁵⁾ *LD*, Text IV, 175. For this inscription see below footnote 3 p. 166.

⁽⁶⁾ RICKE, HUGHES and WENTE, *The Beit el-Wali Temple* (cf. n. footnote 5, p. 163), 23, pl. 21.

⁽⁷⁾ BARGUET et al., *Amada II* (cf. n. 2 p. 164), B 2; B 4; p. 3 f.; pl. 3 C; pl. 103 (T) and vol. III, pl. 57. Adjoining the big inscription of Merenptah is a graffito of a viceroy whose name is erased (*ibid.*, II. 4 [B 8 on p. 16]). It rather belongs to *H-m-trj*, see below n. 2 p. 166.

⁽⁸⁾ KITCHEN, *Ram. Inscr.* IV, 1. 11, For the date cf. HELCK, in *BiOr* 27, 1970, 350; HABACHI, in *Kush* 5, 1957, 33 No. 34, (above pp. 58 ff.).

⁽⁹⁾ The graffiti from Amada were examined by CAMINOS, *The New Kingdom Temples of Buhen* I, 17 n. 4, who stated that they might have suffered, but certainly not been the object of malicious damage. The same can be said of all his other graffiti.

Hatshepsut, three in the town of Buhen⁽¹⁾. In Amada, the name is carefully mutilated, but titles and dress of the owner make sure that the graffiti belong to him⁽²⁾. This viceroy may have been the first to have served Merenptah, was later been pushed out of office, to be later promoted to vizier by Amenmesse, since he was one of his supporters.

28. The viceroy who served Sethos II is unknown, but he may have been *Mswj*⁽³⁾. But undoubtedly within the first year of Siptah, *Sthj* was appointed as shown by an inscription at Abu Simbel⁽⁴⁾, and Buhen⁽⁵⁾. Along the road from Assuan to Philae he left an undated graffito⁽⁶⁾, but that of Sehel⁽⁷⁾ is dated to year 3. His son *Jmn-m-hb* left two inscriptions, one at Abu Simbel⁽⁸⁾, the second at Derr⁽⁹⁾. According to his titles, *Sthj* started as «First great one of the stable», «letterwriter of Pharaoh» and «supreme overseer of the domain of Amun»⁽¹⁰⁾.

29. In year 3 of Siptah, a «First driver of H.M.» and «king's messenger» *Hrj* (II.) (Hori) son of *K:m*, was sent to Nubia⁽¹¹⁾. Later

⁽¹⁾ For the graffito in the temple : CAMINOS, *op. cit.*, 16 f., pl. 28 below. Those in Buhen town, cf. SMITH, *Buhen Inscriptions*, 96, pl. 12, 6 (442); 112, pl. 21, 3 (1187); 150, pl. 41, 3 (1745).

⁽²⁾ CAMINOS, *op. cit.*, 17 n. 4 shows that *H'-m-trj* was the viceroy under Merenptah who fell into disgrace. No viceroy is known under Amenmesse, but possibly *H'-m-trj* served him and was later promoted to the post of vizier, cf. Labib HABACHI *Amenmesse and the Vizier Amenmose* (in press).

⁽³⁾ According to the inscription from Bigga. However, it does not definitively prove that *Mswj* also served Sethos II, as the name of the king is carved on a boulder, that of the viceroy below it in opposite direction. Did he replace *H'-m-trj* as soon as the usurper Amenmesse disappeared?

⁽⁴⁾ Theodore DAVIS, *Tomb of Siptah*, London 1908, p. XXI; *PM*, VII, 98 (9).

⁽⁵⁾ CAMINOS, *op. cit.*, I, 26 f., pl. 29-30, (above p. 60).

⁽⁶⁾ HABACHI, in *Kush* 5, 1957, 34 (36), (above p. 60).

⁽⁷⁾ HABACHI, *op. cit.*, 33 (35).

⁽⁸⁾ *PM*, VII, 99 (11).

⁽⁹⁾ *PM*, VII, 89 f.; more recently HABACHI, in *MIE* 59, 1969, 70 ff., pl. 2.

⁽¹⁰⁾ As to his titles and those of his son, cf. MASPERO, in *ASAE* 10, 1910, 132.

⁽¹¹⁾ CAMINOS, *op. cit.*, 35 f., pl. 42-43.

he became viceroy of Nubia in year 6⁽¹⁾. His home-town was Bubastis⁽²⁾. *Hrj* stayed in office during the reign of Sethnakht, too, the founder of the 20th dyn.⁽³⁾ A lintel of his house at Buhen was found⁽⁴⁾.

30. He was succeeded by his son *Hrj* (III.) whose tomb was also found at Bubastis⁽⁵⁾. He is dated to the years 5 and 11 of Ramesses III⁽⁶⁾ and to Ramesses IV⁽⁷⁾.

31. A stela from Amara-West⁽⁸⁾ mentions the viceroy *Zi-Jst* during the reign of Ramesses VI.

32-34. He was succeeded by viceroy *N:-hr-h:*, who appears in an inscription of his successor *Wn-t-w:t* in the time of Ramesses IX⁽⁹⁾. He, too, was a member of the chariot-troops as most of the viceroys of Nubia⁽¹⁰⁾; before being appointed viceroy he was «overseer of the domains of the Ramesseum»⁽¹¹⁾. His son *R'-ms-sw-nht* took over as viceroy in the reign of Ramesses IX⁽¹²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Op. cit.*, 42, made by his son *Wbhw-sn*, cf. also pl. 54.

⁽²⁾ Labib HABACHI, *Tell Basta*, *CASAE* 22, 1957, 97 ff.

⁽³⁾ KITCHEN, *Ram. Inscr.* V, 2 (3) Stela at Amara-West. Other monuments : a second stela from there : *JEOL* 1948, 314; Graffito from Sehel : HABACHI, in *Kush* 5, 1957, 34 No. 37, (above p. 61 f).

⁽⁴⁾ Harry S. SMITH, *Buhen. Inscriptions*, 98.

⁽⁵⁾ GAUTHIER, in *ASAE* 28, 1928, 129. Two statues of viceroys found at Bubastis (NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, 42. 44. 45, pls. 36 N; 38 E) may represent one or both viceroys *Hrj*; cf. HABACHI, *Tell Basta* (see n. 2 above, cf. p. 101 n. 1).

⁽⁶⁾ FAIRMAN, in *JEA* 25, 1939, 143, pl. 15, 2.

⁽⁷⁾ HABACHI, in *Kush* 5, 35 (38) from opposite Elephantine, (above p. 62 f.). Also at Buhen, cf. CAMINOS, *op. cit.*, 23 f., pls. 23 lower, 25; H. SMITH, *op. cit.*, 118, 151 f.

⁽⁸⁾ FAIRMAN, in *JEA* 25, 1939, 143.

⁽⁹⁾ FAIRMAN, *op. cit.*

⁽¹⁰⁾ MACIVER, *Buhen*, 79.

⁽¹¹⁾ Stela in Brit. Mus. : MASPERO, *Momies Royales*, 747; Statue at Karnak : CG 42158; Graffito at Abu Simbel : ČERNÝ, in *Kush* 7, 1959, 71 ff.

⁽¹²⁾ Not Ramesses XI, as given in *JEA* 25, 1939, 143, cf. ČERNÝ, *op. cit.*, 75 n. 15. — Door at Amara-West cf. FAIRMAN, *op. cit.*, 143; Graffito : CAMINOS, *Buhen* I, 73, pls. 84-85; lintel : GAUTHIER, in *ASAE* 28, 1928, 134 ff.

35-36. In the first decade of the reign of Ramesses XI we meet the viceroy *P3-nhsj*, who fought the war against the high priest of Amun *Jmn-htp*⁽¹⁾ and ruled the Thebaid from year 12 to year 19⁽²⁾, when he was driven out by the high priest *Hrj-Hr*. His followers were prosecuted⁽³⁾, but *P3-nhsj* was able to defend his Nubian province successfully against *Hrj-Hr* (Herihor) and his son Pianchi⁽⁴⁾. Nevertheless *Hrj-Hr* took the title «king's son of Kush», without real authority in the southern countries. Pianchi followed his father in this respect. *P3-nhsj* probably died in Aniba and was buried there⁽⁵⁾.

After Pianchi the title K. disappeared with one exception: The daughter of king Smendes and wife of king Painodjem I *Ns-Hnsw* bears this title to keep her claim to revenues of this office coming from domains in Upper Egypt⁽⁶⁾.

⁽¹⁾ RAD 35; pMayer A, 13; 4, 5; pBM 10052, 10, 18.

⁽²⁾ Year 17: pTur., 66.

⁽³⁾ Mayer A, 10, 21; pBM 10052, 12, 1 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ LRL, 7, 15. Graffito: MacIVER, *Buhen*, 86, but contradicted by CAMINOS, *Buhen* II, 109 f. (cf. pl. 89) — against KEES, *Hohepriester*, 2 ff. — who took the name of the owner as unreadable and read the name of the father as *Sthj-msw*.

⁽⁵⁾ STEINDORFF, *Aniba* II, 240 f.

⁽⁶⁾ KEES, *Hohepriester*, 17. — An anonymous K.: Alfred WIEDEMANN and B. PORTNER, *Äg. Grabsteine und Denksteine aus verschiedenen Sammlungen* III, Strassburg 1906, 21 pl. 7 «overseer of the domains at Thebes», «overseer of the treasury». *Lit.*: REISNER, «The Viceroys of Ethiopia», in *JEA* 6, 1919, 28-55; 73-88; GAUTHIER, «Fils royaux de Kouch», in *Rec. trav.* 39, 1921, 179-219. For viceroys found at Amara-West, see FAIRMAN, in *LA*, I, 171 f.

CHAPTER X

THE ADMINISTRATION OF NUBIA DURING THE NEW KINGDOM, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DISCOVERIES MADE DURING THE LAST FEW YEARS

DURING the Second Intermediate Period, when Egypt was partly or completely occupied by the Hyksos, Nubia seems to have tended a kind of submission or at least to have felt a kind of sympathy for the invaders. This can be concluded from the presence of a few scarabs with the names of Hyksos kings, such as Apophis, in certain tombs discovered in various parts of Nubia⁽¹⁾. But with the struggle of Wadjkheperre Kamose, ruler of Thebes, against the Hyksos 'Auserre Apophis in the 16th century B.C., as revealed by the recently discovered Stela of Kamose in Karnak, a need was felt to appoint a representative of Egypt in Kush. This feeling might have been due to the fact that the Hyksos king, when fighting with the governor of Thebes, sent a messenger to the ruler of Kush inviting him to fight with him against Egypt so that they might be able to divide the land between themselves⁽²⁾. Thus a representative of Egypt was appointed in Kush by the end of

⁽¹⁾ In Aniba Prof. Abdel-Moneim Abu Bakr found some scarabs inscribed with names of Hyksos kings (oral communication). Also in one of the tombs in Ginari, a scarab with the name of Apophis was discovered, FIRTH, *Report on the work of the Season 1908-1909, Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, p. 27, pl. 42 b, 44.

⁽²⁾ Labib HABACHI, «Preliminary Report on Kamose Stela and Other Inscribed Blocks Found Reused in the Foundations of Two Statues at Karnak», in *ASAE*, LIII, p. 201, see also SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, «The Nubian Kingdom of the Second Intermediate Period», in *Kush*, IV, 56 f.

the XVIIIth Dynasty to be responsible for the land of Kush⁽¹⁾. Since then till the end of the XXth Dynasty, i.e. for five centuries, a governor of Kush, perhaps even two, was supervising the country.

That representative was given from the beginning the title «king's son», though there is no indication whatever that he was of royal blood⁽²⁾; the same title was given to others of non-royal blood charged with certain other religious or civil posts⁽³⁾. Some time during the reign of Tuthmosis IV (towards the beginning of the 15th century B.C.), that representative was called «king's son» or «viceroy of Kush», perhaps to distinguish him from other king's sons, whether royal or non-royal⁽⁴⁾.

Most of the viceroys came from Thebes, the capital, as can be concluded from some of the titles they bear, or from the presence of their tombs in the Theban Necropolis⁽⁵⁾, though some came from other places, such as Bubastis⁽⁶⁾. These viceroys governed a territory beginning with Aswan, but sometimes extending to Nekhen or Kom El-Ahmar to the north of Edfu, and ending with the Second, Third or Fourth Cataract, according to the extent of land under Egyptian rule during the life of the viceroy⁽⁷⁾.

⁽¹⁾ See footnote 2, p. 173 below.

⁽²⁾ It was believed that the first viceroys were of royal blood, and that their successors were afterwards chosen among the private people (REISNER, *JEA*, VI, p. 84), but nothing can justify such a belief (see GAUTHIER, *Rec. trav.* XXXVIII). The first two viceroys, discovered recently (footnote 2, p. 173 below) are not known to have been of royal blood.

⁽³⁾ See GAUTHIER, «Les fils royaux de Nekhabit (El-Kab)», in *ASAE*, X, pp. 193 ff., and *Id.*, «Les fils royaux de Ramesès», in *ASAE*, XVIII, pp. 245 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ DRIOTON-VANDIER, *L'Égypte* (4^e édition) p. 464.

⁽⁵⁾ Ahmès Satayit, and his son Ahmès Turo, were originally from Thebes, as can be concluded from the discovery of a cone of the latter in the Theban Necropolis and since some of their relatives were living in the capital. Others, like Mermose, Amenhotep-Huy, Setau, and perhaps also Sen and Nehi were buried in the Theban Necropolis, see Labib HABACHI, in *Kush*, VII, p. 61, and footnotes, (above p. 87 f.).

⁽⁶⁾ This is the case with Hori I and Hori II; *Id.* *Tell Basta*, pp. 97 ff. In Aniba was found the tomb of Pennut, and ushabtis of Messuy and Sety as well, showing perhaps that they might have been buried there, see SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Aegypten und Nubien*, p. 177, and footnote 1.

⁽⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 177 ff.

It is not sure what place they used as their residence, but this may have differed from time to time and Aniba and Amara in the Sudan⁽¹⁾, were undoubtedly among the places chosen as viceregal residences. They were responsible for their vast territory only to the king; an idea of their great power can be given by the numerous statues, stelae, graffiti, and shrines which they left in various parts of Kush⁽²⁾.

In their capacity as viceroys, they had to supervise temples erected in their territory. Among the main titles of Tehutihotep, viceroy of Akhenaten, was that of overseer of works. Setau, one of the seven viceroys who served Ramesses II, was undoubtedly responsible for building Gerf Hussein and Es-Sebu'a temples⁽³⁾. Pesiur II, also serving R. II, left in and near the Great Temple of Abu Simbel a shrine, and numerous graffiti and statues, showing that he was responsible for building or restoring a part of the temple⁽⁴⁾. Undoubtedly viceroys were also responsible for the military operations in Kush. Many amongst them held military titles showing their relations with the army⁽⁵⁾. Setau carved to the south of the Great Temple of Abu

⁽¹⁾ In Aniba were also found tombs and a few monuments of other officials, see PORTER-MOSS-BURNEY, *Bibliography*, VII, pp. 76 ff. In Amara were found many monuments with the names of several viceroys, *ibid.*, pp. 157 ff., even a governor's palace, see p. 163 f.

⁽²⁾ For monuments of these viceroys, see REISNER, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 ff. and 73 ff. also GAUTHIER in *Rec. trav.*, XXXIX, pp. 182 ff., and SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *op. cit.*, pp. 175 ff. To these can be added some monuments published by ourselves in *Kush*, V, pp. 13 ff., VII, pp. 45 ff. and IX, pp. 210 ff., (above pp. 29 ff. and below, pp. 185 ff.).

⁽³⁾ In the former temple, the viceroy left many statues in various parts. He also carved inscriptions in the inner chambers of the temple, thus, showing that he was undoubtedly responsible for the building, PORTER-MOSS-BURNEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 ff., cf. 36. In the latter temple, he left eleven stelae, several parts of doors and statues, see *ibid.*, pp. 53 ff., cf. 55, 56, 63.

⁽⁴⁾ There he left a statue, now in the British Museum, another which stood in the Great Temple until the operations were begun for moving it to top of the cliffs, *ibid.*, p. 108, 110. He also left two rock-stelae, p. 118 (Nos. 11, 14) and a niche with a statue p. 117 (No. 1).

⁽⁵⁾ For example, Mermose, see SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *op. cit.*, p. 180 f. and CAMINOS, *The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim*, pp. 65 ff.

Simbel two huge rock stelae, which he dated to the 38th year of Ramesses II, and in which he showed the king smiting his enemies of the South once in the presence of Amenre and once with Horus of Buhen. These commemorate a campaign of the king in this year organised by the viceroy⁽¹⁾.

Among the main obligations of the viceroys was the presentation of the tribute of the South to the king. In the shrine of Usersatet, viceroy of Amenophis II, at Qasr Ibrim, the tribute of the South consisting of cheetahs, ivory tusks and leopard skins is presented to the king⁽²⁾. In the Tomb of Huy, the viceroy of Tutankhamen, he is shown presenting to the king the chiefs of Kush who are bringing their tribute to the king⁽³⁾.

Briefly the viceroy was responsible for all matters in the area under his control although he was naturally aided by a large staff. Among this were two *idnw*, representatives or *wekils* for Lower and Upper Nubia, and *Wrw* or chiefs of the various centers, such as Elephantine or Aswan, Aniba, Buhen and Amara. With these were also a *imira-pr* or steward, a *imira ḥswt n nwb* or chief of the Lands of gold, *imira šn*, chief of the stores and a considerable number of scribes, helping in the complex administration of that vast area⁽⁴⁾. In a visit to Nubia made by Setau and his wife Mutnofret, they are shown adoring Ramesses II, accompanied by nine scribes and various officials⁽⁵⁾.

During the work of the various expeditions in the last few years, many discoveries casting new light on the viceroys and their work were made. Most important for us among these are three made by Prof. William Kelly Simpson of Yale University in the districts of East Arminna and East Toshka. In the former place, he came upon an

⁽¹⁾ PORTER-MOSS-BURNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 118 (No. 24).

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 92 (No. 1); see also SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *op. cit.*, p. 181 f. and CAMINOS, *The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim*, pp. 65 ff.

⁽³⁾ See DAVIES-GARDINER, *The Tomb of Huy*, pls. XVI, XVII, Huy is shown collecting the revenue of Nubia, p. 19, and in pls. XXII-XXXI, he is represented offering the tribute of Nubia to Tutankhamen, see pp. 21 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *op. cit.*, p. 182, see also DRIOTON-VANDIER, *L'Égypte* (4^e édition), pp. 462 ff.

⁽⁵⁾ PORTER-MOSS-BURNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 93. CAMINOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff.

inscription known before, though its true value was not rightly considered. This has the representation of a certain Se, followed by his wife and son, all shown in front of Horus of Miam. The study of this graffito showed the scholar of Yale University that this Se must have assumed the office of viceroy and that it happened sometime in the first half of the XVIIIth Dynasty⁽¹⁾. Very near to this inscription he found another, even more important. This has two lines of inscriptions reading: «*King of Upper and (Lower) Egypt 'Wadjkheperre', given life, Son of Re 'Kamose-nakht', the king's son, Teti.* [2] *King of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Nebpehtire', given life, Son of the 'Ahmose', the king's son, Djehuty*»⁽²⁾. The two king's sons mentioned are to be considered now as first and second viceroys; Ahmes Tayt and Ahmes Turo, previously taken as such, are now to be considered as third and fourth viceroys⁽³⁾.

In Toshka, Simpson was able to clear three tombs of the New Kingdom. The three tombs were visited by many travellers and egyptologists in the last and present centuries. In 1956 I visited these tombs alone and in 1958 I came back to the same place in the company of Mme Desroches-Noblecourt. Later in 1960, I was able to point out their importance to some of my American colleagues, including Simpson. I was glad to hear later of the clearance of the Hekanefer tomb and the important decorations and finds inside. The titles of this man, which were clear even before the clearance of the tomb were: *the chief of Miam, the king's sandal-maker and the child of the nursery*⁽⁴⁾. This chief of Aniba lived undoubtedly in the reign of the Tutankhamen since he is represented at the head of the chiefs of Nubia⁽⁵⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Heka-Nefer and the Dynastic Material from Toshka and Arminna*, pp. 32 ff. and fig. 26.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 34 and fig. 27 and pl. XXVII b. It should be stated that a somewhat similar graffito was found by Weigall in 1907, in TOSHKА, *ibid.*, footnote 13, though not so clear, especially with respect to the names of the viceroys.

⁽³⁾ Labib HABACHI, «The First Two Viceroys of Kush», in *Kush*, VII, pp. 45 ff., (above pp. 65 ff.).

⁽⁴⁾ W. KELLY SIMPSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 2 ff., and figs. For the title «king's sandal-makers», see p. 26.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 2 and footnotes 8-17.

in the Tomb of Huy (Theban Necropolis No. 40), the viceroy of that king.

In Wadi Alaqi, Prof. Piotrowski, as head of the Russian Expedition in Nubia, discovered a hitherto unknown graffito of Mermose, viceroy of Amenophis III⁽¹⁾. In and near to the Ramesside Temple of Es-Sebu'a, F. Daumas and S. Sauneron of the French Expedition⁽²⁾ and Shafiq Farid of the Antiquities Department⁽³⁾ came by a graffito and numerous fragments of several statues of Setau, viceroy of Ramesses II. In Wadi El-Gurud, Prof. Žaba of the Czechoslovakian Expedition, found among the innumerable graffiti he came upon in Nubia, one which was inscribed by Hori II, viceroy of Ramesses III-IV⁽⁴⁾. Prof. Sāve-Söderbergh, as head of the Scandinavian Expedition in the Sudanese Nubia, was lucky enough to discover the tomb of Amenemhet, who filled the post of chief of Tehkhet (Debeira district) during the reign of Tuthmosis III, after his father Ruru and brother Dhutihotep⁽⁵⁾.

In the last few years I had the opportunity to go to Aswan and Nubia several times and to stay there sometimes for rather long periods of time. There I was able to come upon a few inscriptions and monuments of viceroys unnoticed before. In the region of Aswan, I could study the 38 inscriptions left by the viceroys of Kush. Two of these were published for the first time, but improvements in the reading of certain others have been made⁽⁶⁾. In the Temple of Amenophis III in Es-Sebu'a we came by the lower part of a dyad representing Setau and his wife Mutnofret. As we have already stated, this viceroy must have been responsible for building the great temple of Ramesses II in this area.

⁽¹⁾ See a summary of a paper read by him in the XXVIth International Congress of Orientalists (New Delhi 4-10 January 1964), see *CdE*, XXXIX, p. 108.

⁽²⁾ *BIFAO*, LX, p. 187.

⁽³⁾ *ASAE*, LIX.

⁽⁴⁾ According to a paper read by Prof. Žaba in our Symposium on Nubia.

⁽⁵⁾ For the tomb of Amenemhet, see SĀVE-SÖDERBERGH, «The Tomb of the Prince of Teh-Khet, Amenemhet», in *Kush*, XI, pp. 159 ff. For that of his father Dhutihotep see ARKELL, «Varia Sudanica», in *JEA*, XXXVI, p. 24 f., and Moss, *ibid.*, p. 42 f. See also *Kush*, V, p. 85 and VIII, pp. 29 ff.

⁽⁶⁾ The Graffiti and Work of the Viceroys of Kush in the Region of Aswan, in *Kush*, V, pp. 13 ff., cf. p. 36, (above pp. 29 ff.).



Fig. 47. — Inscription on block of Meh, which was kept in Ed-Derr Temple.

He left sufficiently many stelae, statues, and graffiti to justify such an assumption. The presence of the dyad of Setau and his wife in the Temple of Amenophis III, known to have been added to by Ramesses II, may lead us to believe that the viceroy was also responsible for the additions in this temple due to Ramesses⁽¹⁾.

Sometime ago I published a sandstone block which I saw in Ed-Derr Temple in 1958. This has the representation of the deputy Meh, most probably followed by that of his wife; both of them are shown with uplifted arms and probably kneeling. The inscription above reads: «Adoration to thy ka, O Amenre, [2] lord of the Two Lands, mayest thou give life, prosperity and health to the ka of [3] the deputy of the king's son of Kush, [4] Merosiris (?), (called) Meh. [5] His sister, his beloved, the chantress of Horus, [6] (lord of Miam, and Isis mistress of⁽²⁾)» (fig. 47).

⁽¹⁾ To this viceroy and his monuments, especially the dyad referred to, we devoted an article in a special number of *Cahiers d'histoire* about Nubia, X, pp. 51 ff., (above pp. 121 ff.).

⁽²⁾ *Kush*, IX, pp. 214 ff., fig. 3 and pl. XXVIII (upper), (above pp. 96 ff.).

We may add here that, passing in 1962 by the Amada Temple, only 3 miles to the north of Ed-Derr Temple, we found in the temple a similar block which, as the ghaffir of the Temple reported, was found

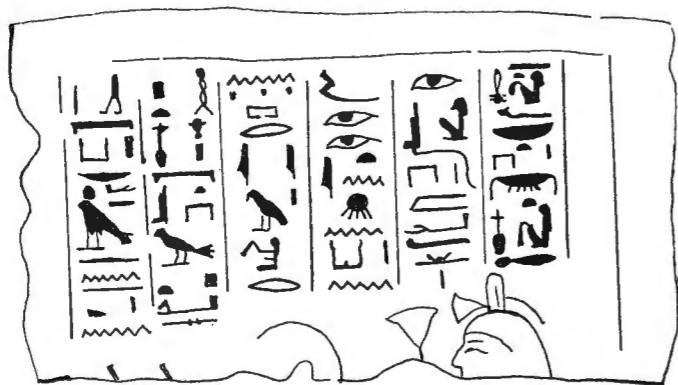


Fig. 48. — Inscription on block of Meh, which was kept in Amada Temple.

in a place lying on the west bank and almost opposite Ed-Derr Temple. On this block are seen the upper parts of the figures of a couple looking left, perhaps originally shown as kneeling. Above are six columns of inscriptions reading: «Adoration to thy ka, O Horakhti, doing obeissance to [2] Ptah the beautiful of face, who is over his great seat, may they cause [3] that my ba may go forth to [4] see Aten always (namely) the ka of [5] the Osiris, the steward, Meh. [6] His sister, the mistress of the house, Nubnofret, the blessed (?)» (fig. 48).

Was Meh on this block the same as the deputy of the king's son of Kush, Merosiris, Meh, whose name and figure are found on the block of Ed-Derr? This can be shown to be true by an ushabti found in one of the tombs in Aniba, only 15 miles to the south. On the front of this ushabti is a column of inscription reading: *May the Osiris, the deputy, Meh illuminate.* Covering round the body of this ushabti is the following inscription. He says «*May your sight be opened that you can see Aten, [2] that you may adore Re in life, that you may be called in [3] Re-staw, that you may traverse the territory of T:mwt (Medinet Habu), [4] that you*

may cross the valley of the upper Re-staw, [5] that you may open the secret cave and that you may sit on [6] the seat in the front of Necropolis Land like the great persons (namely) the steward, Meh⁽¹⁾» (fig. 49). Thus Meh



Fig. 49. — Inscription of an ushabti found in Aniba of Meh.

had both titles of deputy and steward. It is worth mentioning that with this ushabti was found another bearing the 6th chapter of the Book of the Dead in the name of the chantress Nubnofret, undoubtedly his wife shown with him on the block of Amada⁽²⁾.

In August 1963, I made a visit to Nubia, when the level of the water was the lowest to inspect the place in which the block of Amada was found and to study the rock inscriptions to the north of Ed-Derr Temple. The ghaffir who found the block in Amada Temple pointed out to me a place on the western side, almost opposite Ed-Derr Temple. There was no trace of a standing building, but the fact that the other block was kept in Ed-Derr Temple seems to point out that both blocks were originally formed part of some kind of a building, such as a shrine or a niche, at that spot⁽³⁾. Meh and his wife Nubnofret might have

⁽¹⁾ SLEINDORFF, *Aniba*, II, found in Tomb SA14. See p. 81, 220 and pl. 45, 5.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, and pl. 45, 6.

⁽³⁾ The inscription on the blocks are quite similar, and their dimensions suit. Again the persons shown in opposite directions are apt to be carved on opposite sides to the entrance of such niches or shrines.

been buried in Aniba, as can be concluded by the presence of their ushabtis in a tomb in this place, but they might have had opposite Ed-Derr Temple a shrine or a niche, perhaps with their statues inside.

In a graffito at Gebel Tingar in Aswan, the same deputy Meh is shown behind Usersatet, the famous viceroy of Amenophis II; a fact which shows that this deputy lived in the reign of this king⁽¹⁾. But he is also described as having assumed his office under a hitherto unknown viceroy called perhaps Merosiris. This viceroy must have served either Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II or Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV. In either cases, Meh seems to have lived during the time when the Amada Temple was constructed. The place chosen by Meh to build his shrine or niche is only three miles to the south of this temple, perhaps close to the quarry from which the stones of the temple were extracted. This would seem to show that he was concerned with the building of the temple.

The graffiti are known to have been carved about 200 m. to the north of the Ed-Derr Temple. These were never properly published, since they have suffered much and were quite difficult to copy. Being convinced of the importance of these graffiti, and seeing that they were not given enough attention in the last campaign to saving the monuments of Nubia, we decided to study them during our visit to Nubia in August 1963, when the graffiti were above water.

Lepsius made a fac-simile of these graffiti⁽²⁾ which he corrected later⁽³⁾, while Hay later made a sketch⁽⁴⁾. Weigall referred briefly to them⁽⁵⁾ and Reisner gave a list of the titles of the owner of one of the graffiti⁽⁶⁾. As can be seen from the fac-simile (fig. 50) we are giving here, one of these graffiti consists of a rock-stela in two registers, carved between

⁽¹⁾ *Kush* V, p. 21 (11), fig. 6 and pl. VI, also IX p. 216.

⁽²⁾ *Denkmäler*, III, 184 c.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, Text, V, 109 f.

⁽⁴⁾ 29838-9. His manuscript.

⁽⁵⁾ *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, p. 112.

⁽⁶⁾ «The Viceroys of Ethiopia», *JEA*, VI, p. 74 (VII d). For all these references see PORTER-MOSS-BURNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 89 f.

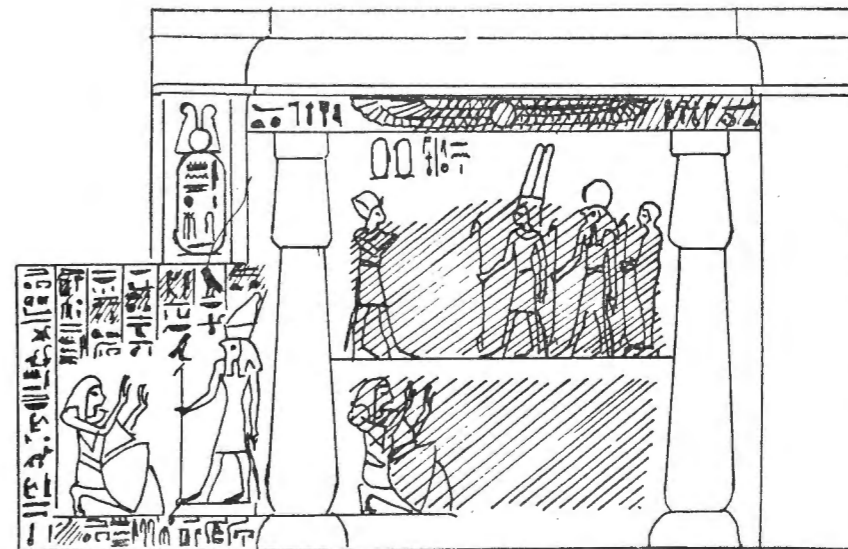


Fig. 50. — Inscription to the north of Ed-Derr Temple.

two stylised papyrus-bud columns on bases⁽¹⁾ with a pillar or door-jamb on each side and having an architrave and a concave cornice on the top⁽²⁾; all shown in high relief. In the upper register of the rock-stela Ramesses II is shown with the war helmet, offering to three deities in front of him⁽³⁾. The first, characterised by the crown with the two feathers, is styled as : «Amenre ...», the second has the sun-disk on his head, undoubtedly standing for *Pare* or *Pare-Harakhti*, while the third must have been *Ptah*, being shown enveloped in the close garment

⁽¹⁾ These were taken as lotus by LEPSIUS, *op. cit.* and WEIGALL, *op. cit.*, but they are typical to the stylised eight papyrus-bud columns of the Ramesside period.

⁽²⁾ This looks like the façade of peristylar temples, as those of El-Kab, see VANDIER, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, t. II, p. 209 f., and fig. 394, or rather like that of Amenophis III, once standing in Elephantine, PORTER-MOSS, *Bibliography*, V, p. 227 f.

⁽³⁾ In the time of Lepsius, these figures were complete, but now only the heads are still surviving; the fluctuations of the stored water since the second heightening of the Aswan Dam has affected the rest. The cartouches of Ramesses II and part of the names of the gods can still be seen.

from which only the hands with various sceptres protrude. On the door-jamb is the nomen of Ramesses II and on the architrave is shown a winged sun, which is described as : «*The One of Behdet, the great god, variegated of plumage*»⁽¹⁾. In the lower register nothing remains except the back of a person shown kneeling. But there was undoubtedly an inscription giving the titles and name of the owner⁽²⁾.

That this graffito is carved near the Temple of Ed-Derr, and that it shows Ramesses II, responsible for erecting that temple, before the three deities who are often shown in the temple and whose figures are carved at the back of the sanctuary of that temple⁽³⁾ show that the author of this graffito was in some way connected with the temple. Usually viceroys, erecting stelae in various places in Nubia, show the reigning king in front of the deities of the place or the temple in the upper register and themselves in the lower register⁽⁴⁾. We believe, therefore, that we have here the representation of one of the viceroys who served Ramesses II, and who was perhaps the one who was in service when the temple was built. Unluckily the name of the viceroy and even his title are all lost to us.

The second graffito was carved later to the north of the first one, partially fringing on its area. It shows a man kneeling and lifting his two arms in adoration in front of a god. This is shown hawk-headed, wearing the double crown, holding in the right hand the *w's-scepter* and in his left the *'nh-sign*, and described as : «Horus, lord of Miam». The man before the deity is shown with an elaborate garment and a wig. Below him is an inscription formed of a horizontal line and above him is a second one formed of four vertical columns continued in a fifth one behind. This had suffered considerably but it

⁽¹⁾ This was overlooked before, but can be seen on the northern side, but hardly seen on the other side.

⁽²⁾ Quite probably it also bore the figure of Horus of Miam opposite.

⁽³⁾ There we have four statues of Ptah, Amenre, deified Ramesses II and Re-Harakhti, see PORTER-MOSS-BURNEY, *Bibliography*, VII, p. 89 No. 29.

⁽⁴⁾ Examples are numerous, enough to mention stelae found near Es-Seboua' Temple, Nos. III, VI, and IX, see GAUTHIER, «*Stèles à Ouadi Es-Seboua' (Nubie)*», in *ASAE*, XI, pp. 64 ff.

can be rendered as : «*Adoration to thy ka, O Horus, [2] lord of Miam (?)*, *doing obeissance [3] to the lords of Nubia (?)*⁽¹⁾ *(by) the steward [4] in the Temple (?) of Ramesses-meramen [5] in House of Rê, the representative (?)*⁽²⁾ *of the viceroy, Amenemhab, son of Set(y), the blessed*». The other inscription below reads : «*The steward of the Temple*⁽³⁾ *the overseer of works (?) of Ramesses-meramen in the House of Rê, (Amenemhab)*⁽⁴⁾ *, the blessed*».

Weigall, referring to this inscription, says that it belonged to Amenemhab, who might have been a viceroy⁽⁵⁾. But Reisner speaks in more details about that person. In his important study on «*The Viceroys of Ethiopia*», Reisner spoke of this man, attributing four rock-inscriptions to him⁽⁶⁾. The first of these is said to have been carved in Siheil⁽⁷⁾, but we failed to spot it, while a second is reported to have been carved in a place near Shatb El-Rigal⁽⁸⁾. These may not belong to the same person, many readings in these are quite doubtful⁽⁹⁾, while the titles held by the owner are quite different from those of our rock-inscription⁽¹⁰⁾. The third on the other hand is undoubtedly of the same person. It is a big rock-stela carved in the recess to the north of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel and to the west of the entrance to the North Chapel. It has two registers; the upper one shows king Sekha'enr'-meriamen Ramesses-Siptah offering to Amenre, Mut,

⁽¹⁾ This part of the inscription has been overlooked by LEPSIUS, *op. cit.*, perhaps owing to the fact that it is badly destroyed.

⁽²⁾ This has been taken by REISNER, *JEA*, VI, p. 74 to be «granary».

⁽³⁾ Taken as *im'ir k'it* by LEPSIUS, *op. cit.*

⁽⁴⁾ Perhaps we have here a variant of the name, where Amun is written as a man hiding under a shelter.

⁽⁵⁾ *Op. cit.*

⁽⁶⁾ *JEA*, VI, p. 74 (VII a-d).

⁽⁷⁾ Copied by Mariette, and quoted by DE MORGAN, *Cat. de mon. et insc.*, I, p. 103, No. 60.

⁽⁸⁾ PETRIE, *A Season in Egypt*, pl. XVI, No. 507.

⁽⁹⁾ This feature is very clear in the latter inscription, where many restorations which are very difficult to accept are made in the reading.

⁽¹⁰⁾ In these inscriptions the owner is given the titles : «overseer of the Southern Lands and head bowman». Such titles show the owner as attached to the army, while our inscription points to him as holding a post in the temples.

Pare-Harakhti, Seth and Astarte, while in the lower one, the viceroy Sety is shown with his son Amenemhab and another son behind. The accompanying inscription describes Amenemhab as : «His (referring to the viceroy Sety) son the royal scribe, and steward [2] of the Temple of Ramesses-meriamen [3] in the House of Rê, Amenemhab». Here the titles are the same except for the important title «royal scribe», while his father is shown with all his titles. Our Amenemhab was therefore the son of the well-known viceroy Sety, who served Siptah-Sekha'enre-meriamen Rameses-Siptah⁽¹⁾. According to the graffito of Ed-Derr, he has to be added to people who filled the post of deputy or representative of the viceroy.

During the reign of the latter king, Amenemhab served as «Steward of the Temple of Ramesses-meriamen in the House of Rê», but he might have served a king or more before and after him⁽²⁾. The Temple in which he worked seems to be that of Ed-Derr; this has exactly the same name⁽³⁾. It is interesting to see that the viceroy Sety was also attached to such a temple. In his inscription in Abu Simbel, he is given among the numerous titles he held, that of «scribe of the records in the interior of the Temple of Ramesses-meriamen in the House of Rê». It is to be noted that the North Chapel of Abu Simbel, where the rock-stela with the representation of the viceroy Sety, Amenemhab and his son was carved, has many representation of the Solar god, his bark and deities associated with him while inside was found the shrine with statues of the baboons and scarab, and the altar with the four baboons and the obelisks, all referring to the cult of the same divinity⁽⁴⁾. This shows how Amenemhab was attached to the cult of this god, and explains the reason why he carved a stela in each of these places which were erected in honour of Rê.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. MASPERO, «Notes de voyage», in *ASAE*, X, p. 131 f., PORTER-MOSS-BURNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 99, No. 11.

⁽²⁾ King Ramesses-Siptah followed king Seti II, see VANDIER-DRIOTON, *op. cit.*, p. 378, DARESSY, in *Rec. trav.* 34, pp. 39 ff.

⁽³⁾ BLACKMANN, *The Temple of Derr*, p. 113 f.

⁽⁴⁾ See PORTER-MOSS-BURNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 99, Nos. 13-23, cf. MASPERO, *Rapports relatifs à la consolidation des temples (Les temples immergés de la Nubie)* pp. 146 ff.

From all this, it is clear that kings of the New Empire directed much attention to the Land of Kush and established a well-organised system of administration there. It can be also seen how the last campaign in Nubia has added to our knowledge about the people who were involved in this administration.

CHAPTER XI

FIVE STELAE FROM THE TEMPLE OF AMENOPHIS III AT ES-SEBUA' NOW IN THE ASWAN MUSEUM

THERE are few sites in Lower Nubia which have produced so many stelae as did Es-Sebua'. In 1909, Barsanti found eleven stelae in the large Temple of Ramesses II inscribed with the names of the viceroy Setau and some of his assistants. Not less than five more stelae were discovered by Firth during the season 1910-1911 in the small Temple of Amenophis III which lies about 200 m. to the south. These have been made by visitors or by people who lived in the place some time after the erection of the temple.

A description of the stelae found in the Temple of Ramesses II, together with copies of their inscriptions and photographs of the most important stelae were published by Barsanti and Gauthier shortly after their discovery⁽¹⁾. But of the stelae from the Temple of Amenophis III, only one has been published in photograph, the others having been reproduced in not very accurate fac-similes⁽²⁾. Since these latter

⁽¹⁾ «Stèles trouvées à Ouadi Es-Seboua (Nubie)», in *ASAE*, XI, pp. 64 ff. (given nos. I-XI and with 5 plates). Some of these stelae have been published or referred to by various authors. For these and for a twelfth stela of the viceroy Setau, see PORTER-MOSS, *Bibliography*, VII, p. 55. Yoyotte published the stela no. IX in «Un document relatif aux rapports de la Libye et de la Nubie», in *Bulletin de la société française d'Égyptologie* (no. 6 — avril 1951), pp. 9 ff. and 2 plates.

⁽²⁾ *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia* (Report for 1910-1911), p. 237, for the facsimiles, see p. 239 and for the view of one of the stelae, see pl. 27 f., see PORTER-MOSS, *op. cit.*, p. 63.



Fig. 51.

present some points of interest, we thought that it would be worthwhile to publish photographs of the whole group, giving at the same time a short account of them and speaking at the end of the importance of them and of the site where they were found.

STELA OF PIA (Aswan Museum No. 11), sandstone, H. 42 cm., Br. 46 cm. and W. 11 cm. (fig. 51) ⁽¹⁾.

A man clad in a long garment formed of two layers is shown raising his arms in adoration before Amun. A table laden with many kinds of offerings stands between them. The god is represented sitting on a throne, dressed in a short kilt, wearing a crown composed of the

⁽¹⁾ FIRTH, *op. cit.*, p. 239 top left.

sun-disk between two feathers, and holding the 'nh-sign in one hand and the w's-sceptre in the other.

Above the head of the man is an inscription in two vertical lines of text; these read: *ir(y) n hm-ntr tpy h'ty- [2] Pī*, «Made for the chief priest, the governor, [2] Pia». Above the head of the god is a vertical line of inscription which reads: *'Imn p; nb n; mtw*, «Amun, lord of the roads». As we shall show at the end of this article, this is a local form of Amun peculiar to him in Es-Sebua'.

The owner of this stela is not known to us for certain, but he may be identical with «the chief priest of *'Imn-hnmt-w'st*, Piay, son of the *sm*-priest Piay» ⁽¹⁾. If this is so, the proprietor of this stela would have lived towards the beginning of the XXth Dynasty.

STELA OF PIAY (Aswan Museum No. 12), sandstone, H. 47 cm., Br. 34 cm. and W. 9 cm. (fig. 52) ⁽²⁾.

This stela has two registers. The upper register depicts a recumbent ram on a pedestal. The ram wears a crown composed of two feathers with a sun-disk between them and an uraeus on each side, the whole being posed on two horizontally placed spiral horns. Beside the ram is a fan and opposite him stands a table, laden with many different offerings. Above him is placed the inscription: *'Imn [2] p; nb n(?) mtw*, «Amun, [2] lord of the roads».

In the lower register we see a man kneeling, dressed in a short kilt and wearing a wig. He is shown raising his two arms in adoration before the following inscription: *Rdit* ⁽³⁾; *iy (sic) n 'Imn p; nb n(?) m [2] tw p; ntr 'nh m m't [3] di-f 'nh w; snb 'h; nfr r' nb ir* ⁽⁴⁾ *n k;* ⁽⁵⁾

⁽¹⁾ LEFEBVRE, *Les grands-prêtres d'Amon de Karnak*, pp. 157 f.

⁽²⁾ FIRTH, *op. cit.*, p. 239 top right.

⁽³⁾ 'Ir is a mistake for r.

⁽⁴⁾ R may be a mistake for ir.

⁽⁵⁾ The sign looks like the š; (GARDINER, *Sign-list*, M 8), but it is more probably the k; followed by the stroke.

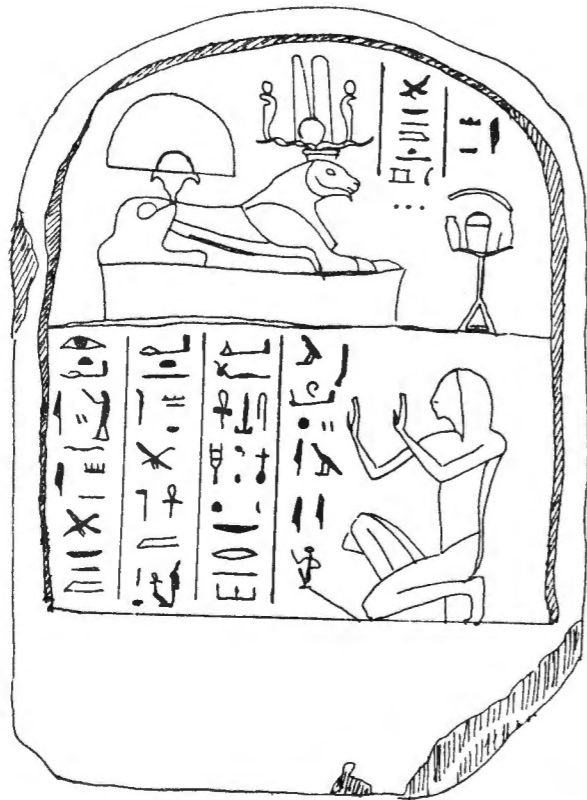


Fig. 52.

[4] *w' w(?)* ⁽¹⁾ *Pÿy*, «Giving adoration to Amun, lord of the [2] roads, the god living in truth [3] that may give l.p.h. and a good lifetime every day; made for the *ka* [4] of the officer (?), Piay».

Thus we find Amun on this stela shown in the form of a recumbent ram and referred to twice as «Lord of the roads». He is also qualified as «The god living in truth», an epithet which seems to have been popular

⁽¹⁾ It is very difficult to find out the value of the second sign, but it looks like the *w'* (GARDINER, *Sign-list*, T 11 shown vertically).

during the reign of Amenophis III and later ⁽¹⁾. It is probable, therefore, that the owner of our stela lived during the reign of that king and that the erection of his stela was contemporary with the construction of the small temple where it was found.

STELA OF NEFERTMUT (Aswan Museum No. 15), sandstone, H. 40 cm., Br. 30 cm. and W. 6 cm. (fig. 53) ⁽²⁾.

This stela is also divided into two registers. In the upper one two gods are sitting opposite each other, each holding an '*nh*'-sign in one hand and a *w's*-sceptre in the other; an offering table stands between them. The god on the (spectator's) left wears a crown formed of two tall feathers and is styled: '*Imn-r' nb nswt t'wi*', «Amenre, lord-of-the-Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands». The other divinity is shown hawk-headed having on his head a sun-disk with an uraeus on the front. Though the name of this god is no longer visible, the form in which he is depicted and the title referring to him as ... *ntr* ³, «... the great god» show that Horakhti, who held an important position in the Nubian temples, was intended.

In the lower register to the right stands a woman dressed in a long garment, lifting her two arms in adoration before three divinities placed opposite her. The first is shown enveloped in a garment from which only the arms, holding the *w's*-sceptre, protrude. He is styled: *Pth (nb?) m' t nb pt*, «Ptah, master of truth and lord of heaven». Behind the god are two divinities; the first, lioness-headed, with a sun-disk on her head, is qualified as *W'sdyt*, «Udjo». The second has no name but appears to be Khnum, whose figure is often shown in the temples of Nubia.

In all, five divinities are shown on the stela of Nefertmut. Foremost was Amenre, lord-of-the-Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands (Karnak), the main

⁽¹⁾ ANTHES, «Die Maat des Echnaton von Amarna», *hr hr m'c'* as epithet of Aton, p. 13 (11) for '*nh m m'c't*', see p. (42), see also HOLMBERG, *The God Ptah*, p. 78 and note 70.

⁽²⁾ FIRTH, *op. cit.*, p. 239, bottom left.



Fig. 53.

divinity of the place. But with him are introduced Horakhti and Ptah, known to be worshipped side by side with him in Es-Sebua' and in other temples of Nubia. Udjo is known to have been the protectress of Lower Egypt, and Khnum the chief divinity of the Cataract region.

There is nothing on the stela which can guide us to an identification of its owner with any known lady. Still, it may be permissible to make a conjecture. Could this lady be identical with the wife of the viceroy Setau? The viceroy has depicted his wife with him once on Seheil Island and once more in Faras⁽¹⁾. It has been seen above how the viceroy,

⁽¹⁾ For the First stela, see the present writer in *Kush* V, p. 31 (no. 30), (above p. 57) and for the Second, see PORTER-MOSS, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

together with his officials, erected eleven stelae in Es-Sebua'. It would not be strange, therefore, that his wife should also have dedicated a rather large stela such as this to the divinities of the place. It should be noted that in the two cases in which she is shown with the viceroy, she is referred to as : «The chantress of Amun»⁽¹⁾, and it is Amun who is shown in the place of honour on the stela, namely on the left side at the top. If this identification of the owner is correct, the stela can be dated to the reign of Ramesses II.

STELA OF MATYBAAL (Aswan Museum No. 16), sandstone, H. 44 cm., Br. 30 cm. and W. 5 cm. (fig. 54)⁽²⁾.

This stela again has two registers. The upper one shows the figures of two divinities sitting opposite each other, dressed in short kilts and tails which appear in front projecting between the knees. They each hold a *wꜣs*-sceptre in one hand and an offering table stands between them. The god to the (spectator's) left wears a crown formed of two feathers and is qualified as : 'Imn-r' nb n p; mtnw, «Amenre, lord of the roads». The god opposite is styled : St ꜣ phity nb pt, «Seth, lord of valour and master of heaven»⁽³⁾. He is shown with the head of his characteristic animal and is wearing the double crown.

In the lower register is a standing god, holding a shield and spear in one hand and what seems to be an axe or a mace fixed to a stick in the other. On his head is a crown which resembles that of Upper Egypt from which hangs a ribbon. He is clad in a very short garment tied

⁽¹⁾ Mention of a lady with that name, also a chantress of Amun, was found in the tomb usurped by Tuthemhab (no. 45 of the Theban Necropolis), where she is described as the granddaughter of the owner of the tomb. See *ASAE*, VI, p. 83. Tuthemhab lived most probably under Ramesses II, see PORTER-MOSS, *Bibliography*, I, p. 78, so she might be the wife of the viceroy Setau.

⁽²⁾ FIRTH, *op. cit.*, p. 239, middle row, middle; LEBOVITCH, «Quelques nouvelles représentations du dieu Rechef», in *ASAE*, XXXIX, pl. XIX, 1 (from Firth), cf. p. 155 f.

⁽³⁾ The last two signs were taken by Leibovitch, after Firth, as 't'wi', see *ibid.*, but these are clearly the signs nb pt.

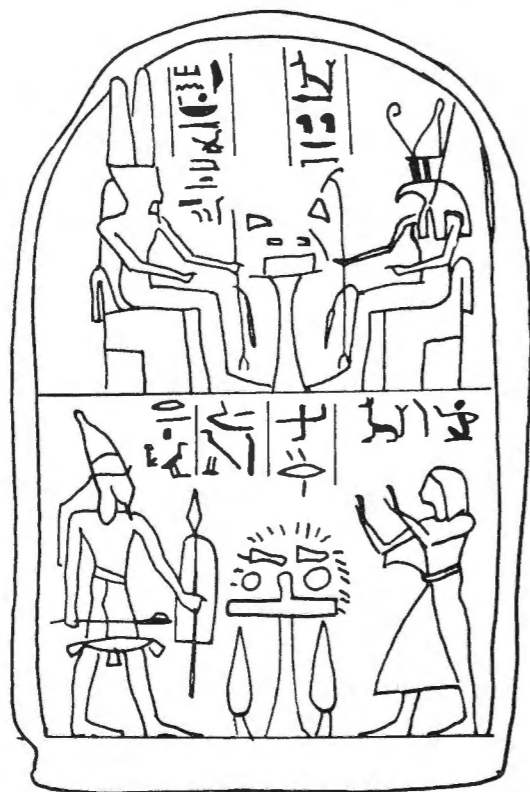


Fig. 54.

on his waist under which is a skirt with ribbon-like ornaments at the bottom. As shown by the inscription above, this figure represents : *Ršp*, «Reshep»⁽¹⁾. Standing opposite him is a man dressed in a long garment and wig, raising his arms in adoration. Before him stands a table laden with many kinds of offerings. The inscription above gives the name of the man as : *Mṯtybꜣl*, «Matybaal»⁽²⁾; the name is written

⁽¹⁾ Leibovitch speaks about the places and objects where this god figures on the Egyptian monuments, see *ibid.*, 145 ff. and id. *ASAE*, XXXVIII, pp. 489-94; see also GRDSELOFF, *Les débuts du culte de Reshep en Egypte* (Cairo, 1942).

⁽²⁾ We read this name some time ago as Kemabaal, see PORTER-MOSS, *op. cit.*, 64, but the reading as Matybaal seems certain, see the next footnote.

with three determinatives, namely the Seth-animal for Baal, the boomerang to show that the man was a foreigner and finally a man, which is the usual masculine determinative.

The importance of this stela lies in the fact that it was made for a foreigner. His name means : «Righteous is Baal» and is one of a group of names formed in the same manner with the names of other divinities like Ptah or Thoth⁽¹⁾. Matybaal was careful to show himself adoring both Egyptian and Semitic divinities. This circumstance which appears frequently in Ramesside times inclines us to assign the stela to that period.

STELA OF PAIRUNU (?), soapstone, H. 17 cm., Br. 12 cm. and W. 2 cm. (fig. 55)⁽²⁾.

The upper part of this stela presents an inscription of two lines which is continued with other two lines at the bottom of the stela. In between are two registers, each containing a ram standing before a manger in the shape of a cup. Opposite them is an inscription of one vertical line reading : *'Imn-r' hry hr mṯt rdi ꜥw m mrr-f*, «Amenre, pleased with truth, [2] who gives breath as he likes». The inscription at the top and bottom of the stela reads : *'Imn-r' hr(y) hr mṯtw (?)*⁽³⁾ [2] *'nh ꜥ rhn ꜥw n fnd-f shbb-f m* [3] *ist nb*⁽⁴⁾ *mr-f ir-f twt-f*⁽⁵⁾ (?) *m Pr-'Imn* [4] *(ir n) Pꜣirwnw*, «Amenre, pleased with truth (?). [2] Living is the ram, breath to his nose, (namely) the one who refreshes himself in [3] every place he likes, he makes his figure in the Temple of Amun (Es-Sebua Temple), [4] (made by) Pairunu» (?).

The name of the owner of the stela is unknown to us elsewhere. He may have been a foreigner as the way in which his name is written

⁽¹⁾ RANKE, *Personennamen*, p. 144, nos. 25, 26 and p. 145, nos. 1-3.

⁽²⁾ FIRTH, *op. cit.*, p. 237 and pl. 27 f.

⁽³⁾ Here we have just a woman followed by the *t* and the three strokes, but *mṯt* enters in the epithet which occurs in the same context in the other inscription.

⁽⁴⁾ Here reference is made to the numerous places where Amun is worshipped and where the ram was kept as a sacred animal of the god.

⁽⁵⁾ The sign is written somewhat cursorily.

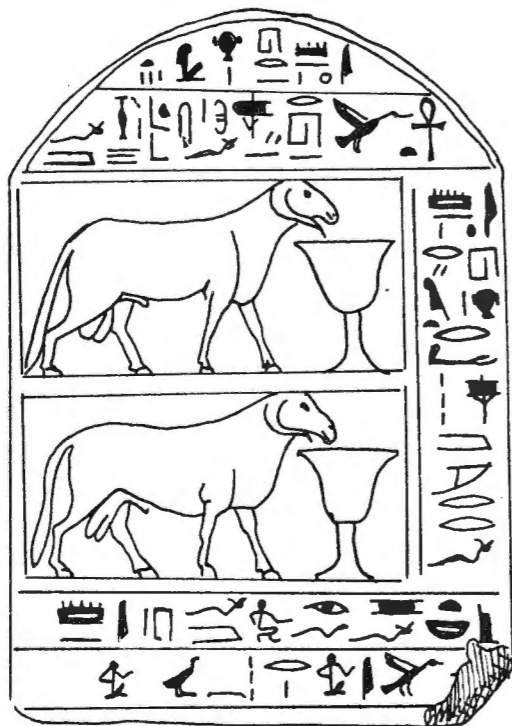


Fig. 55.

is unusual. On the stela he depicts two rams and gives two inscriptions about rams, a fact which seems to indicate that each of the latter refers to one of the rams. If this is true, there may have been two rams which had cults in Es-Sebua', both qualified as «pleased with truth». As we said above, this epithet was popular in the reign of Amenophis III. This leads us to date the stela to this reign.

Such is the description of the five stelae which came from the Temple of Amenophis III at Es-Sebua'. The shrine of that temple was cut in the rock, while the courts and chambers preceding the shrine were built of sun-dried brick⁽¹⁾. On the walls of this temple were found beautiful representations of Hapi and other divinities bringing offerings

⁽¹⁾ FIRTH, *op. cit.*, pp. 235 ff., plan XIV, and pl. 3.

to the temple together with other representations of the king offering to Amun, shown usually in human form, but once as the bust of a ram⁽¹⁾. It seems, however, that the temple was originally dedicated to one of the local forms of Horus. The conversion of the dedication to Amun took place later, but nevertheless probably during the time of Amenophis III himself⁽²⁾. The place continued to be sacred to the king of the gods as, when Ramesses II restored and added to the Temple of Amenophis III⁽³⁾ and built his large temple, he continued to show the same divinity as the chief god of the place.

But side by side with Amun, other divinities were also worshipped there such as Horakhti, Ptah and the deified Ramesses II⁽⁴⁾. On the stela of Matybaal, we have, in addition to the representations of Amun, those of Seth and Reshep. Seth is known to have been invoked on two stelae erected by the viceroy Setau⁽⁵⁾, while Reshep is represented with Horus of Miam and Sesostris III in the rock shrine of Nebse(n)y in Gebel Agg⁽⁶⁾, near Toshka. The representation of people in Nubia before divinities of foreign origin such as Reshep shows that foreigners were living even in such remote places.

There remains to be discussed the problem of «Amun, lord of the roads»⁽⁷⁾. This seems to be a local form of the god. That Amun should be worshipped in such a form in Es-Sebua' probably points to the fact

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, pls. 31-4.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 236 f.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

⁽⁴⁾ For this temple and the divinities shown there, see PORTER-MOSS, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 ff.

⁽⁵⁾ Stelae nos. II and VI, see BARSANTI-GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 and 76.

⁽⁶⁾ WEIGALL, *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia* (the First Cataract to the Sudan Frontier), pl. LXVI (lower), cf. p. 125 and LEIBOVITCH, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX (2), cf. p. 156 f.

⁽⁷⁾ It was seen above that it was mentioned once on the first stela, twice on the second one and once on the fourth stela. It is also mentioned on stelae nos. VII and IX. On the former stela, it seems that Amun of Kamessu-meramen is given that title, BARSANTI-GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, p. 80 (L. 17). For stela no. IX, see *ibid.*, p. 83 and YOYOTTE, *op. cit.*, p. 12 and footnotes 22 and 25.

that numerous roads, undoubtedly leading across the desert, branched out from this spot. This is not to be wondered at since Es-Sebua' lies at the end of a curve of the Nile, and comparatively near to certain of the oases⁽¹⁾. Amun was thus considered as the protector of these roads and was worshipped sporadically in that form. It is noteworthy that nowhere in the temples is he given that title, but only on stelae erected by individuals. This seems to indicate that «Amun, lord of roads» was a popular manifestation of the god, but was not adopted officially by the clergy of the temples.

⁽¹⁾ There was a military post in Es-Sebua' some time during the reign of Ramesses II. For this and for the roads branching from the Nile to the Western Desert, see *ibid.*, p. 13 f. and map in pl. II.

CHAPTER XII

DIVINITIES ADORED IN THE AREA OF KALABSHA, WITH A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE GODDESS MIKET

IN the area of Kalabsha (50 kms. south of Aswan) once stood the Temple of Beit El-Wali, carved by Ramesses II in the living rock, and Kalabsha Temple, constructed by Augustus with blocks of Nubian sandstone, except for its rear part, which was cut in the rock. Both temples have been removed and reconstructed recently on a promontory on the west bank of the Nile close to the site of the High Dam (the Sadd El-Aali). At the present time, this promontory forms the northernmost of the four sites for the newly preserved monuments of Nubia; the other three being from north to south: Es-Sebua', Amada and Abu Simbel.

The work of the cutting, removal, and re-building of the Small Temple of Beit El-Wali was achieved by the architects of the Antiquities Department with funds granted by the U.S. Government. The preservation of the Great Temple of Kalabsha, called «Karnak of Nubia», was executed at the proposal of the much-regretted Prof. H. Stock, by Hochtief AG/Essen with funds granted by the government of the German Federal Republic, a generous contribution of this government to the salvage of the Nubian monuments. The whole work took less than two years, during which period Stock supervised the archaeological work, bringing it to quite a successful end.

Since the beginning of the present century, when the Aswan Dam was constructed, attention has been directed to the monuments and ancient sites of Nubia. The Philae Temples were then consolidated to stand the effect of the stored water. But with the First and Second

Heightenings, the threatened sites were examined, and almost all temples were consolidated and published ⁽¹⁾. It was then that Kalabsha Temple was studied and published by H. Gauthier ⁽²⁾ and Beit El-Wali by G. Roeder ⁽³⁾.

With the construction of the Sadd El-Aali, all Nubia was condemned to disappear under the stored water. All sites were then examined and each temple studied, recorded and if possible published. The Center of Documentation and Studies on Ancient Egypt directed by the Egyptian Government with the assistance of UNESCO issued one or more pamphlets on each temple; one being devoted to Kalabsha Temple ⁽⁴⁾. Stock gave a short report with many illustrations of the various stages of the work on this temple ⁽⁵⁾, and before his sudden death, he was preparing a publication of about 150 blocks, some coloured, of the Ptolemaic period, which he found reused in the Roman Temple ⁽⁶⁾.

The Temple of Beit El-Wali has been the subject of detailed study by the Joint Expedition of the Oriental Institute of Chicago University and the Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo. There the ideal way of recording monuments in the Theban area applied by the first scientific foundation since 1924 was used. The result was the appearance of the book: «*The Temple of Beit El-Wali of Ramesses II*» ⁽⁷⁾.

From the various scenes in this temple, it will be possible to find out the divinities adored in Kalabsha during the reign of Ramesses II,

⁽¹⁾ These were published by the Antiquities Department under the title of *Les Temples immergés de la Nubie*.

⁽²⁾ *Le temple de Kalabshah* in two volumes (1914).

⁽³⁾ *Der Felsentempel von Bet El-Wali* (1938).

⁽⁴⁾ This gives only the text of this Temple as copied by Derchain and collated by De Meulenaere. A pamphlet was published of this temple for the layman.

⁽⁵⁾ The Bundesrepublik Deutschland issued a special number of the *Kultur Revue* 3/1963 on Kalabsha Temple, where Stock spoke of «*Die Verlegung von Kalabsha*».

⁽⁶⁾ I understood that Dr. D. Arnold was editing that manuscript for publication.

⁽⁷⁾ By Rieke, Hughes, Wentz and the artists of the Chicago Oriental Institute at Luxor (1967).

and how they differ, on one hand from those worshipped in the other temples erected by Ramesses II all along Nubia and how they can be approached on the other hand to those adored in the Roman Temple of Kalabsha. A statue of Tuthmosis III is known to have been lying in Kalabsha Temple near the river until some time at the beginning of the last century, but nothing was known about when and where it was removed. Luckily I was able to find out its present position and thus can give here a full description of it. At the end of the present study, the goddess Miket, shown only once in Beit El-Wali and the Temple of Hatshepsut in Buhen, will be spoken of. With four more mentions, hitherto unknown, of the goddess, some interesting details about her will be given.

Here we reproduce the plan of the Temple of Beit El-Wali, on which are noted the plate numbers of the scenes as reproduced in the recently published monograph on this temple (fig. 56) ⁽¹⁾. Scenes at the entrance of the Forecourt (fig. 56 : 5 A-C) show only the king making purification ceremony and fragmentary inscriptions. Scenes on the side walls of the Forecourt are concerned with the victory of the king over his enemies in the north and south. On the northern wall ⁽²⁾, the king is trampling on Asiatics, attacking fortress, in a chariot charging the Asiatics, and then smiting a libyan captive (fig. 56 : 11-15). On the opposite wall he charges, together with his sons, the Nubians and then he is receiving them and their tributes (fig. 56 : 8, 9).

Though such scenes are interesting in many ways, still they would not concern us much, as no divinities are represented there. But with the façade of the vestibule begins the appearance of deities, who had a principal position in this temple. From these we can clearly see that Amenre was the main divinity of the temple. Above the Central Doorway to the Vestibule is a double scene, where the king is shown kneeling before a sitting god, most probably Amenre (fig. 56 : 17). Below on the lintel is another double scene, in each the king is shown running

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, plate No. 22.

⁽²⁾ By the north here we do not mean the magnetic north, but rather the direction to which the Nile runs in this point, here it is northwest.



with the *hap* and oar towards the figure of Amenre; thus dedicating the temple to the king of gods (fig. 56 : 18 B). In the thickness of this door the king is shown before the god (fig. 56 : 19 C).

In the Vestibule the king is styled as beloved of Amenre twice on the southern column (fig. 56 : 35), and once on the other one (fig. 56 : 36). The lintel of the door to the sanctuary, just like that of the Central Doorway of the Vestibule, has a double-scene, in each the king is kneeling in front of Amenre. Again the king is shown offering *Mā'et*-sign on one of the jambs of this door, and *kebh-jar* on the other (fig. 56 : 32). Similar scenes are shown on the sides of the same door (fig. 56 : 31, 35).

Inside the sanctuary, the king is ushered into the presence of the god by Khnum and Satis on the northern wall (fig. 56 : 42), then presenting incense and food offerings to him (fig. 56 : 43). On the opposite wall, he is censuring and libating food offerings before the god (fig. 56 : 44). On the back side of the sanctuary, there is a niche in which was carved some figures, which were lately destroyed when the Temple was converted into a church⁽¹⁾. To the south of this niche is the representation of Amenre in the ithyphallic form, referred to as *Min-Amun-Kamutef* (fig. 56 : 45).

Apart from all these scenes which show beyond any reasonable doubt the principal position of the king of gods in this temple, there is a long inscription on the thickness of the south door leading to the vestibule speaking of the buildings of the king. There the king says : «I am thy son, who came forth from the ... I have built for thee a nice throne in the place you like ... I built their (the gods») houses, I made them four times ...». To this speech, full of sincerity, the god promises the king the lifetime of he and the years of Atum.

But other divinities were worshipped side by side with Amenre. As a matter of fact, the temple looks as if it were divided into two sections, the northern one chiefly consecrated to the gods of the Cataract area, and the southern to those of Nubia. Only in a very few cases we find exception to this rule. Khnum, the main god of the cataract region,

⁽¹⁾ This is the case with Es-Sebu'a Temple when it was converted to a church, see PM VII, p. 62 (122).

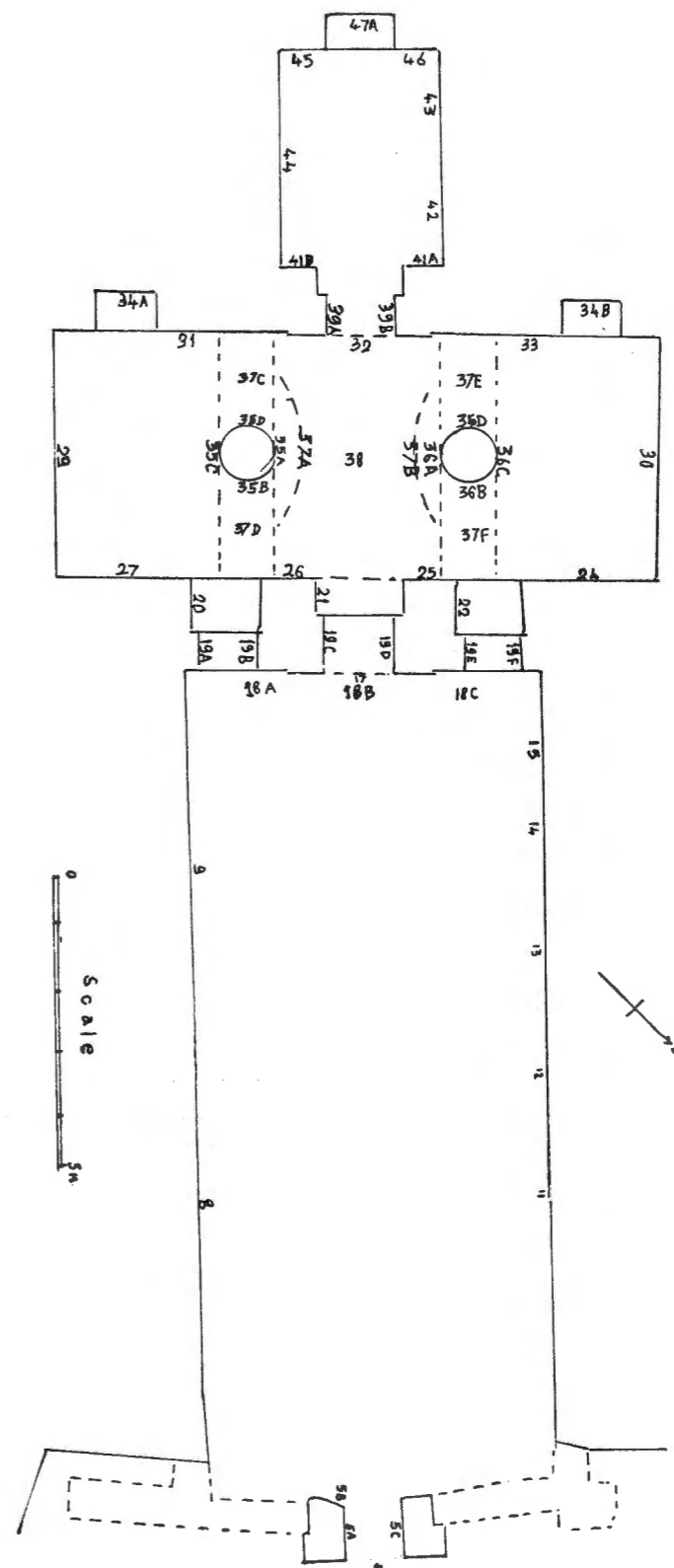


Fig. 56. — Plan of Temple of Ramesses II in Beit El-Wali.

is shown on the north side door leading to the Vestibule. But on the northern wall of the Vestibule, he is shown in an important scene. There the king, followed by Anukis, holding the *heb-sed* staves, is offering wine to Khnum and Satis opposite (fig. 56 : 30). In a niche emptied in the north side of the western wall, his figure and that of Anukis are carved with that of the king in the middle (fig. 56 : 36). On the northern column the king is described as beloved of Anukis (fig. 56 : 36).

But this goddess is seen in a more important scene in the Sanctuary. There the goddess is seen with traces of beautiful colours suckling the boy king, where she is surrounding him with her arms and love (fig. 56 : 41 A). On the northern wall the king is seen as we have seen before, ushered into the presence of Amenre by Khnum and Satis (fig. 56 : 42). On the thickness of the door leading to the Sanctuary is seen Satis embracing the king. This scene is depicted on the southern side, which is exceptional. But there is a reason for that, which we may be able to show below.

On the southern wall of the vestibule, there is a scene similar to that of the triad of the Cataract region opposite. But here we have the king with Hathor of Ibshek, holding the *heb-sed* staves behind and Horus of Buhen and Isis with scorpion on the head opposite (fig. 56 : 30). Hathor was the main goddess of Ibshek, most probably Faras, but she was one of the main divinities to whom the Small Temple of Abu Simbel was dedicated⁽¹⁾. The Horus here shown was the main god of Buhen, but in many places and temples in Nubia, he occurs, and in most cases together with the other Horuses of Nubia, namely Horus of Baki, of Miam and of Meh⁽²⁾. Isis, having the scorpion on the

⁽¹⁾ For places where the name Ibshek occurs, see GAUTHIER, *DG*, I, 65, III, 144, and IV, 210, for its identification with Faras, see GRIFFITH, *Annales Univ. Liverpool*, VIII, 88 and for the Small Temple of Abu Simbel being dedicated to Hathor, see NOBLECOURT-KUENTZ, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel*, (*CEDAE Mémoire*, I), pp. 162 ff. and footnote 152.

⁽²⁾ For Buhen, see PM VII, 129 ff. The four Horuses occur in the Temple of Haremhab at Abahudo, *ibid.*, p. 121 (3), on the pillars in the Second Hall of

head, was peculiar to Nubia, found in some places and on some objects⁽¹⁾.

In the niche carved in the southern side of the western wall, in symmetry with that on the other side, having the king between Khnum and Anukis, we have the figures of the king between those of Horus of Baki and Isis (fig. 56 : 34 A). These two divinities seem to have had a special consideration in the temple. Apart from her figure in the niche and the scene with Horus of Buhen and Hathor of Ibshek, Isis name occurs once on the southern column (fig. 56 : 35), and once more on the northern one (fig. 56 : 36). In both cases the king is described as beloved by her. But in the sanctuary, she is shown in a beautiful scene, similar to that opposite, where the Anukis is suckling the boy king (fig. 56 : 41 B).

Horus of Baki is also shown or mentioned several times⁽²⁾. Apart from his figure shown with those of the king and Isis, just-described, his name occurs on the southern column as loving the king (fig. 56 : 35). On the southern jamb of the door leading to the Sanctuary, the king is shown offering *kebh*-vase to him (fig. 56 : 32) and on the southern wall of the sanctuary, he is presenting him jars of libating water (fig. 56 : 47 A). Horus of Miam is mentioned only once, and that on the thickness of the Central Doorway of the Vestibule (fig. 56).

But with these divinities, there are others whose names are shown only once and rarely twice. This is the case with obscure goddess Miket, shown receiving the king on the northern thickness of the door leading

the Great Temple of Abu Simbel, *ibid.*, 109 (Nos. IX-XI) and in the Small Temple in this place, see *ibid.*, p. 114 (21), and 116 (33). NOBLECOURT-KUENTZ, *op. cit.*, C 17 f., C 21 f., C 22 f. and footnote 363.

⁽¹⁾ See MACIVER-WOOLEY, *Buhen*, p. 40 and footnote, where instances in which the goddess occurs with scorpion on the head. There he refers to ROEDER article in *Lexicon der gr. und roem. Mythologie*, IV, p. 653, where full references are enumerated, see MARIA MUNSTER, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis ... (MÄS 11)* p. 147 f.

⁽²⁾ This was the main god of Quban, which is the place nearest to Kalabsha amongst these consecrated to the Horuses of Nubia. For Quban and its monuments, see PM VII, p. 82 ff. (NOBLECOURT-KUENTZ, *op. cit.*, footnote 318).

to the Sanctuary (fig. 56 : 39 A). Mut, consort of Amenre, is shown on the thickness of the Central Doorway to the Vestibule (fig. 56 : 19), and mentioned on the northern column (fig. 56 : 36), Atum is represented once on the southern jamb to the Central Doorway of the Vestibule (fig. 56 : 26) and Sokaris on the southern jamb of the entrance to the Sanctuary (fig. 56 : 32). Ptah is also shown once, but in a place of some importance. He is represented on the rear wall of the Sanctuary on the side of the niche; on the other side is Min-Amun-Kamutef. These were among the great divinities of Egypt, especially in Nubia, and their figures were most probably carved with that of the king in the niche. In the Vestibule we have in one niche the king between two of the main divinities of the Cataract region, and in the other between two of the divinities of Nubia, and one expects to have in the third niche the king with Ptah, one of the great divinities and to Amenre who was the main divinity of the temple. On both sides of the eastern wall of the Vestibule the king is shown smiting his enemies before a god whose figure was destroyed when the side doors were opened (fig. 56). Was Amenre represented here in both cases as proposed by Roeder⁽¹⁾, or was he shown only on the southern side, and before Harakhti, as thought by Wenté⁽²⁾? In the Temple of Gerf Hussein, dedicated to Ptah, but where many divinities, including those of Nubia, were adored, the king is represented on the façade of the Hall smiting his enemies before Horus of Buhen on one side and before Amenre on the other⁽³⁾. The same is seen on the rock double-stela of the viceroy Setau in Abu Simbel⁽⁴⁾. In the Hall of the Small Temple of Abu Simbel, where Horus of Meh has an important place, the king is shown smiting his enemies opposite this on one side and opposite Amenre on the other⁽⁵⁾. We believe, therefore, that in Beit El-Wali, Horus of Buhen, was shown

⁽¹⁾ *Der Felsentempel von Bet El-Wali*, p. 58 and 63.

⁽²⁾ *The Temple of Beit El-Wali of Ramesses II*, p. 23 f. For these scenes and similar ones, see NOBLECOURT-KUENTZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 ff.

⁽³⁾ PM VII, p. 34 (1, 2).

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 118 (24).

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 113 (15) and p. 114 (21), NOBLECOURT-KUENTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 49. For the god see footnote 142.

opposite the king on the southern side; his figure is represented nearby on the southern wall. On the other side there may have been Amenre; Harakhti, proposed by Wenté, is never shown in any place in the Temple.

Beit El-Wali Temple was erected towards the beginning of the reign of the king⁽¹⁾. In it there is no single indication of the deification of the king, so clearly demonstrated in the other temples he erected in Nubia⁽²⁾. The Great Temple of Abu Simbel is described as a temple of Re-Harakhti⁽³⁾. But following the scenes which decorate its walls, we find that it is divided into two halves, almost in the same way as Beit El-Wali. In the northern half, it is Re-Harakhti and the deities related to him — who are shown, and on the other side Amenre and his triad who are represented. With them was adored the king shown sometimes as hawk-headed⁽⁴⁾. This is exactly the same order followed in showing Re-Harakhti and Amun in the Temple of Es-Sebua', where the king is also the subject of adoration⁽⁵⁾. In the Temple of Ed-Derr, Re-Harakhti and the deities related to him are shown usually on the eastern side and Amenre and his triad on the west⁽⁶⁾. The Temple of Gerf Hussein was dedicated to Ptah, but the deified Ramesses I and II, in addition to several other divinities, were adored there⁽⁷⁾. All these temples have, therefore, divinities different from those of Beit El-Wali.

But it seems that there was a certain relation between the divinities shown in the last-mentioned temple and those represented in its late neighbour. The main divinity adored in the Roman Temple erected by Augustus was Mandulis. He is unknown in the Pharaonic period, and only shown elsewhere in Dendur Temple, erected by the same Emperor, in Philae Temple and in the Temple of Ajuala or Abu Hor

⁽¹⁾ K. SEELE, *The Coregency of Ramses II with Seti I*, p. 55 f.

⁽²⁾ For the scenes showing the deification of Ramesses II in these temples, see my forthcoming book on «*Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*», ADIK, *Ägyptische Reihe* Bd. V, 1969.

⁽³⁾ PM VII, p. 95.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 97 ff.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 53 ff.

⁽⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 84 ff.

⁽⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 33 ff.

East. He is a sun-god related to the east, usually shown as hawk-headed, though in few scenes, he is depicted in the human form. He is shown sometimes as a child, with a side-lock and with a finger in his mouth. With him are usually represented Isis, Osiris and Edjo of Buto, who appears often as his consort. Thus in a way he is shown as a member of the Osirian triad, of which the cult was quite popular in the Graeco-Roman period ⁽¹⁾.

But being represented as hawk-headed, and sometimes shown twice in one scene as in the case with the Horuses of Nubia, he may be approached to these divinities. In one scene he is shown with Satis as consort, and in other scenes the other members of the Cataract area are shown ⁽²⁾. From all this it can be seen that divinities shown in the Roman Temple are in a way similar to those of the Ramesside Temple in Kalabasha.

In the Roman Temple, there are some strange scenes in the outer Vestibule. In the second register of the western wall is shown one of the Ptolemy kings offering fields to Isis, Mandulis and Horus in one scene, Khnum facing Re-Harakhti in a second and Amenophis II offering wine in a third ⁽³⁾.

The first scene is taken as showing that one or more of the Ptolemaic kings built in Kalabsha. This is true, since Ptolemy V or X was responsible for building a chapel and blocks with the names of others were found reused in the Roman Temple; these were gathered by Gauthier ⁽⁴⁾ and recently by Stock. But of the Temple of Amenophis II there is no trace at all, though the representation of his figure in a temple built more than 14 centuries before his reign would point to him as the builder of the first temple in the area. One other reason for his presence in this temple might be due to the intention of the worshippers of the newly

⁽¹⁾ BLACKMAN, *The Temple of Dendûr*, p. 80 f. and BONNET, *Realexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 439 f. and GRIFFITH, in *JEA* 15, pp. 72 ff.

⁽²⁾ For these scenes see PM VII, pp. 11 ff.

⁽³⁾ GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, p. 218 and pl. LXXVI, see also CURTO and others *Kalabsha*, pp. 86 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 321 ff. and pls. CIX-XLVII.

introduced god Mandulis to show that his worship was as old as the reign of the king of the XVIIIth Dynasty ⁽¹⁾. But since his figure does not occur even once among the divinities shown in the Ramesside Temple of Beit El-Wali, it is improbable that he was ever worshipped in that name in the area before the erection of the late temple in the Graeco-Roman period.

In this temple and near the river there was lying for some time in the last century a headless statue of Tuthmosis III. It was seen by some travellers but inspected and recorded by Bonomi (1824-1833, 1842-1844), Hay (1824-1838), Bankes (1821) and Wilkinson who made several visits to Egypt from the years 1821-1855 ⁽²⁾. Since then nothing was known about that statue, was it still buried in some place in the neighbourhood or was it taken to a private collection or to one of the museums?

Strange to say that its present position was discovered almost at the same time by myself and by Prof. Silvio Curto ⁽³⁾. For myself, it happened that my eyes fell by mere accident on the word *Šsmt.t.*, described in the *Wörterbuch* as: «Göttin in Elephantine» genannt (zwischen Chnum und Satis) ⁽⁴⁾. Being interested in Elephantine and its deities, I looked up the *Belegstellen* to find that name of this goddess was mentioned on an object in Florence Museum (No. 1503), which proved to be a statue of Tuthmosis III coming from Nubia ⁽⁵⁾. Since no other statue of Tuthmosis III was known to have come from this land, I was almost certain that it was the one which had been lying in Kalabsha. With copies of the records of travellers referred to above kindly sent to me by Dr. Moss and Mr. James, there was no doubt that it was the same statue.

⁽¹⁾ S. CURTO and others, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁽²⁾ For references to this statue, see PM VII, p. 20, for the dates of the visits of the early travellers, see pp. xxxiii f.

⁽³⁾ *Op. cit.*, pp. 82 ff., fig. 25, and pl. XX. For other objects, mostly from Roman period found in this area, see *ibid.*, pp. 84/6 (28-46).

⁽⁴⁾ Vol. IV, p. 538 : 8.

⁽⁵⁾ SCHIAPARELLI, *Museo archeologico di Firenze, Antichità egizie*, Pt. I, p. 195 f.

Prof. Sergio Bostico was kind enough to send me views of this statue which I am reproducing here with his permission. According to him, the statue was taken by Rosellini from Nubia and brought to the Museum

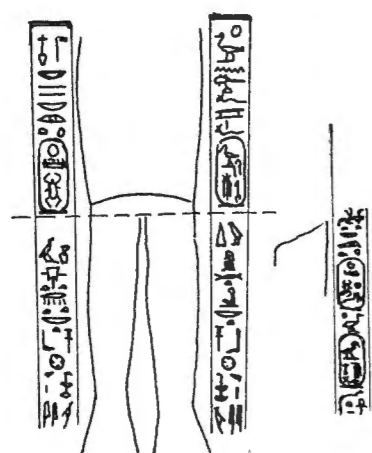


Fig. 57. — Inscriptions of the Statue of Tuthmosis III (Florence).

in 1829⁽¹⁾. It shows the king almost lifesize sitting on a throne. He is shown wearing a short dress reaching his knees and covering his body. His arms are shown crossed under his dress, but his hands protrude; one holding the crook and the other the flail. Under his feet are the nine bows. It is in grey granite, the pedestal being 74 by 40 cms. and the surviving part of the statue is 114.5 cms. On the top of the throne there begins on each side of the king's body a column of inscription, which is continued on the side. That on the right of the statue reads: «The good god, lord of the Two Lands, master of ceremonies 'Menkheperre', beloved of Khnum, Satis-Shesemtet, lady of the Southern Elephantine». That on the left reads: «Son of Re of his own body, his beloved 'Tuthmosis, Ruler-of-Thebes', beloved of Sopd and Neit, mistress of the Southern Elephantine». On the dorsal pillar is a third column of inscription of which a few signs at the beginning are missing; it reads: «(The good god, king of Upper) and Lower Egypt, master of ceremonies 'Menkheperre, chosen-of-Re', son of Re 'Tuthmosis Beautiful-of-Form', living forever» (see fig. 57).

According to the form of the statue and its dress, it must have been carved on one of the five jubilees celebrated by this king⁽²⁾. A statue of the same form, material and almost of the same size was found at the

⁽¹⁾ This statue was referred to, as kindly pointed out to me by Bosticco, by ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, I, p. 233 and note 2.

⁽²⁾ For these jubilees, see HAYES, *ASAE*, XXXIII, pp. 12 ff.

beginning of the present century by A. Weigall in the Mortuary Temple of that king (Cairo Museum J.E.). The king is described there as beloved of Amenre, residing in *Hwt-Mnhprw-hnkt-nh*⁽¹⁾, which is the name of his Mortuary Temple⁽²⁾.

But the king is described on our statue once as: «beloved of Sopd and Neit», and once more as «beloved of Khnum, Satis-Shesemtet». Divinities of the Cataract can be found anywhere in Lower Nubia, but Sopd, Neit and Shesemtet are very rarely encountered in that land⁽³⁾. The name of the last-mentioned goddess is reproduced from our statue in the *Wörterbuch* as a wine or oil press⁽⁴⁾. But the sign standing for the goddess on the statue is somewhat different and with the presence of the name of Sopd on the statue, one is more prepared to take it as a cursive writing for Shesemtet. Newberry made a study of this sign, speaking of the goddess whose name was written with it, as: «The primitive seat of her cult was probably *Šsmt*, 'the town of Shesmet-girdle', the modern Saft El-Henneh», of which the main god was Sopd. He continues to say: «It is possible that she was also worshipped in Nubia, and that she may have been, in her origin, identical with Satis, one of the two goddesses of the Cataract region»⁽⁵⁾. Curto takes the two goddesses in the inscription of Tuthmosis III as standing for Satis⁽⁶⁾. But the presence of the sign *t* twice after each name and the

⁽¹⁾ *ASAE*, VII, p. 131 (12).

⁽²⁾ For this temple, see RICKE, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses III.*, *Beiträge Bf.*, Heft 3, Erste Hälfte.

⁽³⁾ Sopd is said to exist among the divinities of Ellesiya, PM VII, p. 90, but M. Dewachter assured me that it was Horus of Nekhen who is represented there. But the god is shown in the shrine of Usersatet in Ibrim, *ibid.*, p. 92. Also his name is found on a statue of Amenophis III from Gebel Barkal, LD, III, 90 (CURTO, *op. cit.*, p. 84, footnote 168). Neit is only found in Buhen, where she is qualified as mistress of the Southern Elephantine, *Buhen*, p. 76. But Shesemtet was never encountered in Nubia.

⁽⁴⁾ Vol. IV, p. 538 : 8. From the facsimile which we are reproducing of the sign, it is clear that it cannot stand for the press or for the sign *stt*.

⁽⁵⁾ For the article, see *Ssm.t* in *Studies Presented to Ll. Griffith*, pp. 316 ff., and for the passage quoted here, see p. 319; and footnote 9.

⁽⁶⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 84, and footnote 167.

presence on the same statue of the god Sopd who was related to Shesemtet, show rather that they have to be taken as two goddesses identified with or assimilated to each other.

But was the statue originally standing in Kalabsha? Here we have divinities related to the Southern Elephantine. Speaking of a statue in the British Museum of the viceroy Turo, where the place-name is mentioned, we said : «very possibly it stood either in Buhen or, even more probably, in Semna, where so many monuments of the viceroy have been discovered»⁽¹⁾. But in the Southern Temple of Buhen, Satis is described as mistress of the Southern Elephantine 6 times, Anukis 3 times and Neit, who is mentioned on our statue, once⁽²⁾. On the statue of Turo, an invocation is addressed to Horus, lord of Buhen and the gods in the Southern Elephantine. It seems, therefore, that this latter place may be rather located in Buhen or in its close vicinity. One thing seems sure and that the statue of Tuthmosis III, now in Florence Museum, which was lying near the river in Kalabsha, was not intended to be erected there, or was removed to it at some time.

It remains to speak of the goddess Miket, who is represented on the northern thickness of the entrance to the Sanctuary of Beit El-Wali. There the goddess is shown receiving the king, referred to by his two cartouches preceded by the usual epithets and followed by the ordinary wishes. The goddess opposite has the following inscription : «*Utterance 'I am thy mother Miket, lady of [2] Pr-wr, mistress of heaven and consort of all the gods'*»⁽³⁾ (fig. 58). It is known that *Pr-wr* is the primitive sanctuary of the goddess Nekhabit of Upper Egypt in El-Kab. According to Ricke, it is a sort of a tent thrown over a simple wooden building. It is formed in the shape of an animal, the roof vaulted with a tail behind and two horns in front⁽⁴⁾.

In the southern Temple of Buhen, the goddess is encountered twice. Once the king, perhaps Tuthmosis II, is presenting to her the **sbt*-sign,

⁽¹⁾ *Kush*, IX, p. 214.

⁽²⁾ *Buhen*, pp. 54, 57, 61, 66/67, 69, 71, 73 and 76.

⁽³⁾ WENTE in *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*, p. 30 and pl. 39 B.

⁽⁴⁾ RICKE, *Bemerkung zur ägyptischen Baukunst des alten Reiches*, p. 25 f.

with the accompanying words : «Presenting **sbt* to Miket, he makes (the ceremony of) making life». Here the goddess is shown, as in Beit El-Wali, in the human form. In the other instance, the name of the sovereign, which must have been that of Hatshepsut, is altered to that of Tuthmosis II. The inscription reads : «... of his own body, his beloved 'Tuthmosis', beloved of Miket, mistress of Pr-nw, may she (the queen) live forever»⁽¹⁾ (fig. 59).

Here the goddess is given an epithet different from that given to her in Beit El-Wali. She is described as «mistress of *Pr-nw*», known as the primitive sanctuary of the Lower Egyptian goddess Edjo in Buto. This sanctuary is a simple building in mud with a vaulted roof and a door at the side⁽²⁾.

On the northern wall of the Sanctuary of the Speos of Haremhab at Silsila are found three registers, each having 12 compartments with a divinity or two shown envelopped in a garment, sitting on a throne and expressing a good wish to the king. Prof. R. Caminos attracted my attention to the presence of this goddess in the lower register (the seventh

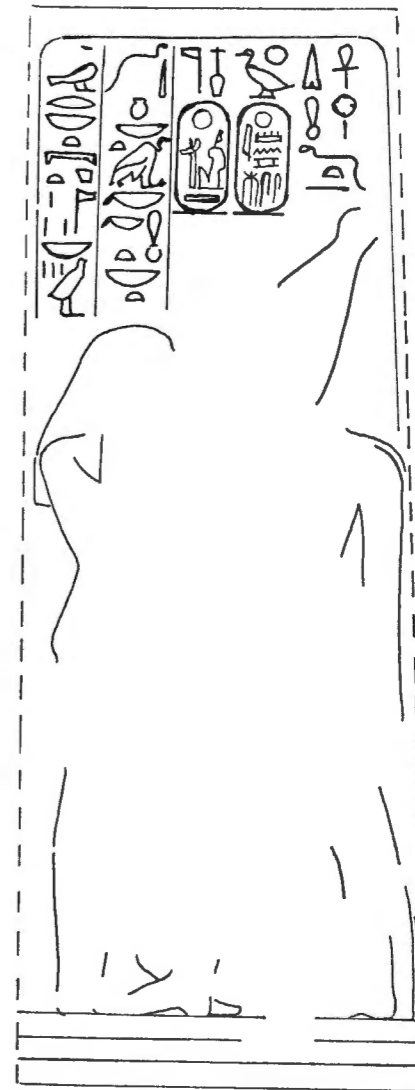


Fig. 58. — Miket in Beit El-Wali.

⁽¹⁾ *Buhen*, 56, 60.

⁽²⁾ *Pr-nw* and *Pr-nsrt* are the names of the predynastic national sanctuaries of Lower Egypt at Buto (GARDINER, *Sign-list*, O 20).

from the right). There the goddess is referred to with the following inscription : «*She gives all stability to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Djesrkheperure-setepenre', given life, [2] (namely) Miket, mistress of*



Fig. 59. — Inscription in Buhen with mention of Miket.



Fig. 60. — Miket in Silsila.

the shrine» (fig. 60). It is to be noted that many divinities of the Cataract region and Nubia are also found there⁽¹⁾.

Apart from these three places in which the goddess occurs, we can trace her name also on three more monuments hitherto unpublished and on a rock-stela, where her name was not properly read. In the Temple of Hekaib on Elephantine Island, I found in 1946 a shrine with a statue inside and an offering table in front; all these belonged to a man called *I'tw* or more fully *Amenyi'tw*, who was the chief of the Tens of Upper Egypt. According to the names inscribed on it and the style of the monument, this man must have lived towards the beginning of the XIIIth Dynasty. On these monuments are invocations to the triad of the Cataract area. But within the shrine there is on the edge of each side a vertical line of inscription, and then a offering table with vases below and food above. On the (spectator's) left, we have : «*One favoured by Satis and Anukis, the chief on the Tens of Upper Egypt, I'tw, the*

⁽¹⁾ CHAMPOLLION, *Notices Descriptives*, p. 264.

blessed» and on the right «*Beloved of Khnum and Miket, the chief of the Tens of Upper Egypt, I'tw, the blessed*»⁽¹⁾ (fig. 61).

During my visit to Berlin in 1961, I was able to study some objects in the stores of the «*Staatliche Museen, Berlin*», thanks to Dr. S. Wenig. My eyes fell then on a small statue with the mention Miket. Here we are reproducing two views of this statue kindly sent to me by him with a permission to publish them.

The statue is in dark grey granite; the upper part missing. It represents a man sitting in a crouched position on a pedestal, placing the right hand on the lap; the left must have been on the chest. The total height of the surviving part of the statue with the pedestal is 14.5 cm.; the pedestal is 5.8 cm.; its breadth on the front is 23.9 cm. and on the back is 18.7 cm. According to the Museum, it was bought by Schäfer from one of the antiquities dealer in Aswan in 1925 (Inventory No. 2246).

Two inscriptions are carved on the front of the statue. The first one is formed of one column, it reads : «*May the king give offerings to Miket* (a)». It has its complement in the second inscription starting

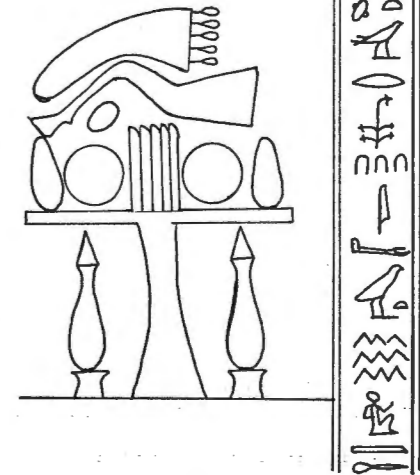


Fig. 61. — Miket in *I'tw* Shrine, Elephantine.

⁽¹⁾ The mention of the goddess on the naos is noted by Wente when speaking of Miket; see *The Temple of Ramesses II in Beit El-Wali*, see p. 30, footnote a.

with the titles and name of the owner. This inscription is formed of five vertical lines ending with a horizontal one. It reads : «*May the king give offerings (to) Satis, Khnum and Anukis [2] that they may give*

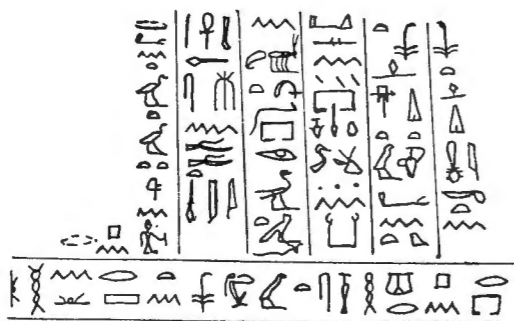


Fig. 62. — Inscription of the statue of Irgemtef (Berlin Museum).

offerings to the ka [3] of the chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt and the steward, Irgemtef (b), repeated of life and blessed, born by Dedi, the blessed. [5] The statue (c) of this noble is carried⁽¹⁾ (to) (d) [6] this temple with the favour of the king to remain and endure» (fig. 62).

(a) The complement of the inscription may be found in the third and fourth lines.

(b) The first bird in this name looks rather like the goose *s* (GARDINER, *Sign-List* G 38), but the following sign, which is undoubtedly phonetic, is that of the owl *m* (*Sign-List*, C 17). The former sign must be taken as standing for the black ibis *gm* (*Sign-List*, G 28) and the name would be Irgemtef, RANKE, *PN*.

(c) Here we have a surplus *t*; the last sign may be the read *i* (*Sign-List*, M 17), sometimes found at the end of this word as *twti*, *Wb.*, V 255 : 9, only here it is reversed.

(d) There may have been here the sign for mouth *r* (*Sign-List*, D 21); *rmn* needs such a sign before the mention of *r-pr*.

⁽¹⁾ For this meaning carrying a statue in a procession, see *Wb.* II, 419 : 8 and *Belegstellen*.

The owner of this statue seems to be the same one who left a stela, now in the Cairo Museum (Cairo CG 20460)⁽¹⁾. The name is written somewhat differently, but it must have had the same value; the owner of the stela has exactly the same titles and his mother is called Djedji. The statue must have been standing in the temple of Elephantine, since it is noted in the 5th and 6th lines that it was carried to the temple with the favour of the king. With the invocation of the members of the Cataract triad, whose main worship was on Elephantine, and with the addition of the invocation of Miket, there is no doubt that it was once standing on this Island. According to the name of the owner and his mother and the style of the statue, it must date from the Middle Kingdom, most probably from the XIIIth Dynasty.

A rock-stela of Tuthmosis III in Seheil mentions also Miket and the divinities of the Cataract area. On this stela, carved near the original position of the Temple of Anukis in Husseintagoug, the king is shown, with Satis behind, offering two jars to Anukis, followed by Khnum opposite⁽²⁾. The fac-simile reproduced by De Morgan and his assistants⁽³⁾ was corrected by Sethe. Still the name of Miket found at the very end of the inscription was not recognised⁽⁴⁾; she was then quite unknown.

Above the whole scene figures the winged disk, referred to on both sides by the words : «*The One of Behdet*». The king below has in front of him the words : «*The good god [2] 'Menkheperre'*». Behind him is Satis described as : «*Satis, mistress of Elephantine, she gives every life and dominion*». In front of him, Anukis is spoken of as : «*Anukis, mistress of Seheil, she gives all health*», while Khnum is referred to as : «*Khnum, lord of the Cataract region, he gives all life like Re everyday*». It is noteworthy that Anukis is here represented at the front⁽⁵⁾, and among all

⁽¹⁾ LANGE und SCHAFER, *Grab und Denkstein von M.R.*, Vol. II, p. 59.

⁽²⁾ *JEA* 37 p. 57, pl. 5, fig. 1 and 39 p. 57.

⁽³⁾ *Cat. des mon. et inscr.*, I, p. 101 (218).

⁽⁴⁾ Sethe just published the text in the lower register, *Urk.* IV, p. 203 f. (74). This is reproduced in GAUTHIER, *L.R.*, II, p. 261 (XXVIII).

⁽⁵⁾ But this is the only case in which the goddess is occupying the main position; usually she is represented behind Satis, Khnum, or both of them.

the deities shown, she is the only one who is holding a scepter. She is considered here to be the chief divinity, being the main goddess of the Island.

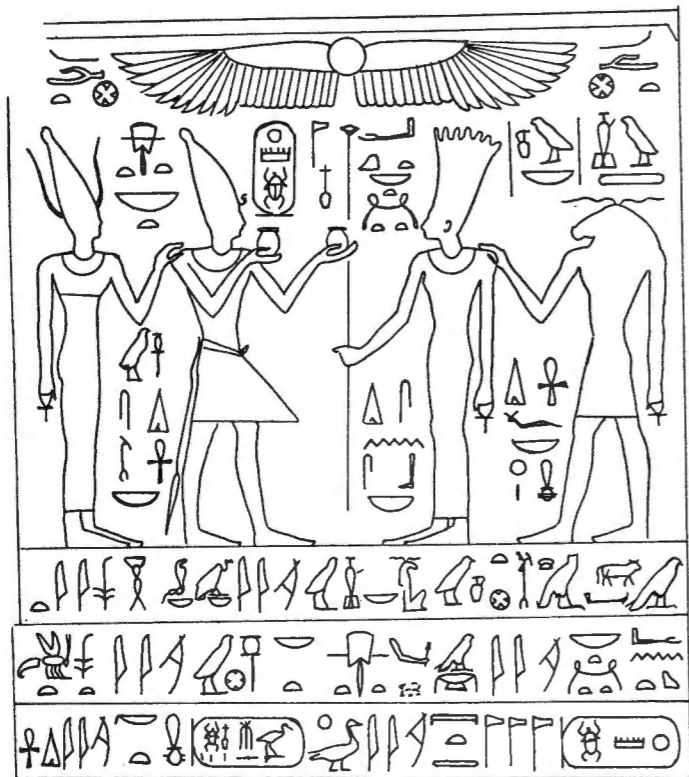


Fig. 63. — Inscription of rock-inscription of Tuthmosis III at Seheil.

The inscription below reads : «Horus 'The-Strong-Bull-Appearing-in-Thebes', beloved of Khnum, the great (?), lord of the Cataract region, the Two Mistresses 'Enduring-of-Kingship', [2] beloved of Anukis, mistress of Seheil, The Golden Horus 'Sacred-of-Crowns', beloved of Satis, lady of Elephantine, king of Upper and Lower Egypt [3] 'Menkheperre', beloved of gods of heaven and earth, son of Re 'Tuthmosis', beloved of Miket» (fig. 63).

In the upper register, only the triad of the Cataract region is shown in front and behind the king. In the text, the five names of the king

are mentioned, each followed by a sentence styling him beloved by one of the three divinities shown above, then by all the gods of heaven and earth and at last by Miket.

The last object known now with the mention of the goddess is a sixteen sided column found among the ruins of Elephantine. Many others are still there, though the upper parts of three of them were taken to the Cairo Museum (Inventory No. 41559). They were originally used between screens of stone, quite likely in a façade of a vestibule to a temple of Amasis⁽¹⁾. It is unknown when and where they were unearthed, but most probably they were found at the beginning of the present century in the foundations of the late temples on the Island.

Inscriptions are found on two opposite sides of each column, usually giving the five names of king Amasis, describing him as beloved of one of the members of the Cataract region. On one of them, Miket is found and the inscription reads : «(Horus 'Establishing-Truth', the Two Mistresses 'son of Neit, Supplying the Two Lands', the Golden Horus 'Chosen-of-the-Gods', king of Upper and Lower Egypt), lord of ceremonies and master of power 'Khenemibre', son of Re of his own body, his beloved 'Amasis, son-of-Neit', beloved of Miket, residing in Elephantine ...» (fig. 64).

From all that we can see that Miket was described as mistress of the shrine once, of that of Upper Egypt a second time and of that of Lower Egypt a third time, thus identified with Nekhabit and Edjo. The name of the goddess is mentioned on monuments from Elephantine, Seheil, Kalabsha and Buhen. On all these monuments the triad of the Cataract



Fig. 64. Inscription on Amasis Columns on Elephantine Island.

⁽¹⁾ Amasis left one rock-inscription on Biga Island, a second on Seheil Island, and a third on Elephantine Island; see *Ibid.*, IV, p. 121 (XXXI-III). Also quite an important stela of his was found in Elephantine; *Ibid.*, p. 114 (IV). Apart from the mention of the goddess on these 6 monuments, it occurs in a name, see RANKE, *PN*, 146, 19.

area occupies quite an important place, and on some they are the only deities mentioned. This being the case, it can be safely stated that she must have formed a member of the pantheon of this area. In a study about Anukis, I came to the conclusion that she must have been considered as the daughter of Khnum and Satis⁽¹⁾. The position of Miket with these divinities is difficult to fix. But it seems that we have in the Cataract area such a pantheon as that of Armant. There we have Monthu, Hathor, Ra't-tai and Thenenet, one god and three goddesses, as in the Cataract region we have Khnum and the three goddesses : Satis, Anukis, and Miket.

⁽¹⁾ « Was Anukis Considered as the Wife of Khnum or as his Daughter? », in *ASAE*, L, pp. 501 ff., cf. p. 506 f.

CHAPTER XIII

FEATURES OF THE DEIFICATION OF RAMESSES II IN ABU SIMBEL AND OTHER PLACES IN LOWER NUBIA

VERY few were the monuments standing in Lower Nubia before the reign of Ramesses II. Apart from some fortresses dating back to the Old and Middle Kingdoms and a certain number of rock-cut grottoes made for the viceroys of Kush during the XVIIIth Dynasty, there existed in this wide area only the rock-temple of Tuthmosis III at Ellesiya, the temple of Tuthmosis III — Amenophis II — Tuthmosis IV at Amada, the Speos of Haremhab at Abahûda, the temples of Tuthmosis I, Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III and Tutankhamen at Faras and those of Hatshepsut-Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II at Buhen and Semna.

But the reign of Ramesses II seems to have marked an era of prosperity in the history of Lower Nubia. During the long reign of this king, many temples were erected there, each of which was bigger than anything built in this area before, and some of which ranked amongst the greatest buildings ever erected by any Pharaoh in the whole of Egypt.

It is known that Ramesses II built one or more temples in each of the great religious centres of Egypt; there is hardly any place of importance to whose religious buildings he did not add. But the scale of his constructions in Lower Nubia outdoes even that might be expected from so great a builder. There he erected seven temples in six different places in most of which there had apparently been no previous monuments. It is not clear why he chose these particular places for his temples but it is possible to assume that they were of sufficient importance at this time to induce him to build one or more temples there. And of

course Nubia has always been the link between Egypt and its neighbours to the south and as such to be considered a place where the king might legitimately wish to display his power and activity.

Some of these temples were built by the viceroys of Kush. These powerful officials were second only to the king; even the viziers were not supposed to interfere in their affairs. There may also have been a certain amount of competition between these two high officials which led them to a display of loyalty to their sovereign in the area under their control. Some of the viceroys likewise dedicated chapels or statues in their own names or left graffiti on the cliff faces, in which they commemorated their work and at the same time exalted the sovereign under whom they assumed their functions.

The temples were all dedicated to one or more deities and in some of them the king was included among the gods worshipped. Thus he appears in the reliefs among the gods to whom his human-self is shown as bringing offerings. At other times he is shown in the form of a statue having a special cult name whose image is to be seen in more than one temple. There are clear indications in certain instances of the worship of these statues by the king as well as by other persons.

We shall now pass in review each of the Nubian temples erected by Ramesses II in an effort to identify the divinities adored in each of them, discover the position of the king among the divinities, outline the features of his worship, and find out the approximate date of the erection of the temples as well as the reasons for his choice of sites.

The Great Temple of Abu Simbel is the largest temple of Nubia and undoubtedly one of the most imposing structures in Egypt or for that matter in the whole world. Hence the valiant attempts to save it from being drowned by the waters of the High Dam were made, not only in Egypt itself, but in international circles. Few monuments have attained to such popularity as has this temple during the last few years.

The exterior of the temple presents a huge façade about 30 m. high and 35 m. wide in which are carved four colossal statues nearly 21 m. high. Through a large central doorway we enter the great hall upheld by eight Osiride pillars, four on each side. From this hall open two

long rooms on the north while the central door in the west wall is flanked by two others leading into two small side rooms. From each of these branch two long rooms containing in some cases a kind of shelf around the sides. Beyond the Great Hall lies the Second Hall, supported on four pillars, two on each side, followed by the Vestibule and then the Sanctuary flanked by two small unscripted rooms (fig. 65).

The official name of this temple is : «The Temple of Ramesses-Meramen» with the possible variant «The Temple of Ramesses-Meramen-The-Town». It is usually described as being dedicated to Re-Harakhti ⁽¹⁾, but our examination of the scenes and inscriptions will demonstrate that Amenre and the king himself hold almost the same position and that the temple seems rather to be dedicated to Amun-of-Ramesses, who might have represented the deified king.

The king is undoubtedly assimilated here to the gods and as such holds the main position in the temple.

At the top of the façade, above the colossi and below the row of baboons are two similar inscriptions starting in the middle and running in opposite directions. The one to the spectator's left (The southern side) describes the king as «beloved of Amenre»; the one to the north as «beloved of Re-Harakhti».

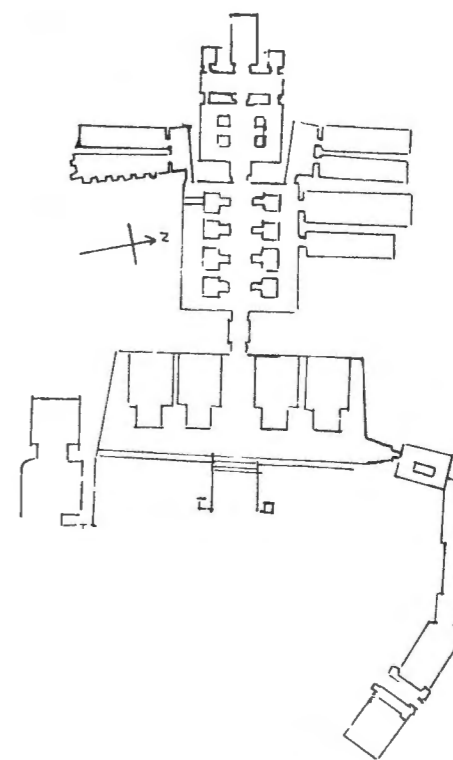


Fig. 65. — Plan of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel.

⁽¹⁾ PORTER-MOSS, *Bibliography* VII, 95.

On the outer lintel of the main doorway there is a double scene showing the king, preceded by standards, running with *hap* and oar towards Amenre and Mut on the southern side, while on the opposite side he approaches Re-Harakhti and Wert-Hekau carrying the *hs*-vases⁽¹⁾. On the inner lintel we have the king again before Amenre and Mut on the southern side and before Re-Harakhti and Sekhmet on the northern side⁽²⁾. In the thickness of the doorway, the king is qualified as «*beloved of Amenre*» on the left side and «*beloved of Re-Harakhti*» on the right⁽³⁾. Thus at four places on the façade and in the doorway the king is associated with Amenre on the southern side and with Re-Harakhti on the northern side; a particularity which we will encounter in many parts of the temple. In the Great Hall we find the king followed by his *ka* smiting the Nubians before Amenre on the southern half of the eastern wall while smiting the Libyans before Re-Harakhti on the opposite side⁽⁴⁾. On the western wall of the same room there are likewise two scenes, the southern one representing the king leading a row of Nubian captives to Amenre, the deified Ramesses II (added later), and Mut; in the northern one it is Hittite captives who are presented to Re-Harakhti, the deified king (added later) and the lion-headed goddess Ius'as⁽⁵⁾. Another double scene, on the lintel of the door leading to the Second Hall, shows the king running with *hap* and oar towards Amenre and Mut on the southern side, and with a vase and flail towards Re-Harakhti and a lion-headed goddess, perhaps Tefnut, on the northern side⁽⁶⁾.

Matters are somewhat different in the Second Hall, the Vestibule and the Sanctuary. On the central door leading from the Second Hall to the Vestibule, the king is shown before his deified-self, and on the thickness of the northern door of the same Hall, the king is represented receiving life from Amenre on the south side and from the deified

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 101, nos. 28 and 29.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 101, nos. 35 and 36.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 101, nos. 30 and 33.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 101, no. 37, p. 102, no. 38.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 104, nos. 43 and 44.

⁽⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 108, nos. 90 and 91.

Ramesses II on the north⁽¹⁾. On the doorway leading from the Vestibule to the Sanctuary there is a double-scene in which the king offers as usual to Amenre and Mut on the south side and to the deified Ramesses II and Mā'et on the other side⁽²⁾.

On the northern and southern walls of both the Second Hall and the Sanctuary are important scenes concerned mainly with the king officiating before the sacred barks. On the southern wall of the Second Hall the king, followed by Queen Nefertari with her sistra, is depicted offering incense before a sacred bark carried by priests and followed by a fan-bearer⁽³⁾. The prow and stern of the bark are in the form of a ram's head surmounted by a sun-disk. The god to whom the bark belongs is referred to in an inscription above reading: «*Utterance of Amenre, lord of heaven: 'I give thee all lands and foreign countries'*». Above the king are his cartouches; between these cartouches and the inscription referring to the god is another line of text reading: «*Giving incense to his father Amenre. [2] May the incense come twice, may the perfume of the god come, may [3] the eye of Horus come to thee (and) the perfume of Nekhbet coming forth from El-Kab. [4] Wash that she may adorn thee, she who makes her place*» (fig. 66).

Before the king a column of inscription reads: «*Making incense for his father Amenre, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. He makes (the ceremony of) giving life*». Thus undoubtedly the king is officiating before the sacred bark of Amenre.

On the northern wall, the corresponding boat is represented with hawk's head surmounted by a sun-disk on the stern and prow. There the king is shown holding in one hand a censer and in the other a libation vase, followed by the queen shaking the sistra. In front is the inscription: «*Doing incense and libation*». Above him is another inscription, which resembles that on the other side, except for the fact that the offering here is for the deified king. It reads: «*Giving incense to 'Ramesses-meramen', may the incense come [2] twice, may perfume of Seth*

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 109, nos. 100-102.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 110, nos. 109-110.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 109, no. 95.

come, may the eye of Horus come [3] to thee (and the perfume of Nekhbet) which comes forth from El-Kab. Wash (that she may adorn thee, she who makes her place)»⁽¹⁾. Instead of the inscription which gives the speech of Amenre on the other side, we read here : «Utterance of Ramesses-meramen [2] residing in the House-of [3]-Ramesses-(meramen)». There is no reference in this inscription to any god, except to the deified king to whom are offered libation and incense by his human self. He is represented as a hawk-headed god, having a sacred bark and qualified as «residing in the House-of-Ramesses-meramen» (fig. 67).

In the Sanctuary, we have two somewhat similar scenes. On the southern wall the king is shown offering before a bark placed on a stand, then the king anointing the uraeus on the forehead of the ithyphallic Amenre-Kamutef. The stern and prow of the bark are ram-headed, and an inscription accompanying the whole scene speaks of Amenre. On the other side the king is shown officiating before another bark, also on a stand, further he offers cloth to his deified self⁽²⁾. The bark is adorned on both extremities with a hawk's head surmounted by a sun-disk. Between the bark and the king are two inscriptions almost the same as these accompanying the corresponding scene in the Second Hall. Above the king we read : «(Giving) incense to 'Ramesses-meramen', (may the incense come [2] twice, may the perfume of Seth come) [3] may the eye of Horus come towards thee [4] and the perfume of Nekhbet coming forth from El-Kab. [5] Wash that she may adorn thee». Under the left hand of the king holding the censer a horizontal line of inscription runs as following : «Giving incense to Re». But the king is offering to the sacred bark of his deified-self, as he is doing in the Second Hall, especially as the inscription above the king says explicitly that the incense is being given to the king and not to any other god. Again in the scene which is depicted behind the bark, we have the king offering to his deified figure, this time shown in human form with the sun-disk on the head; the inscription between them is reading : «Giving cloth to Ramesses». Above the god is the following inscription : «Utterance

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 109, no. 98. The end of the inscription was not carved.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 110, nos. 113 and 114.

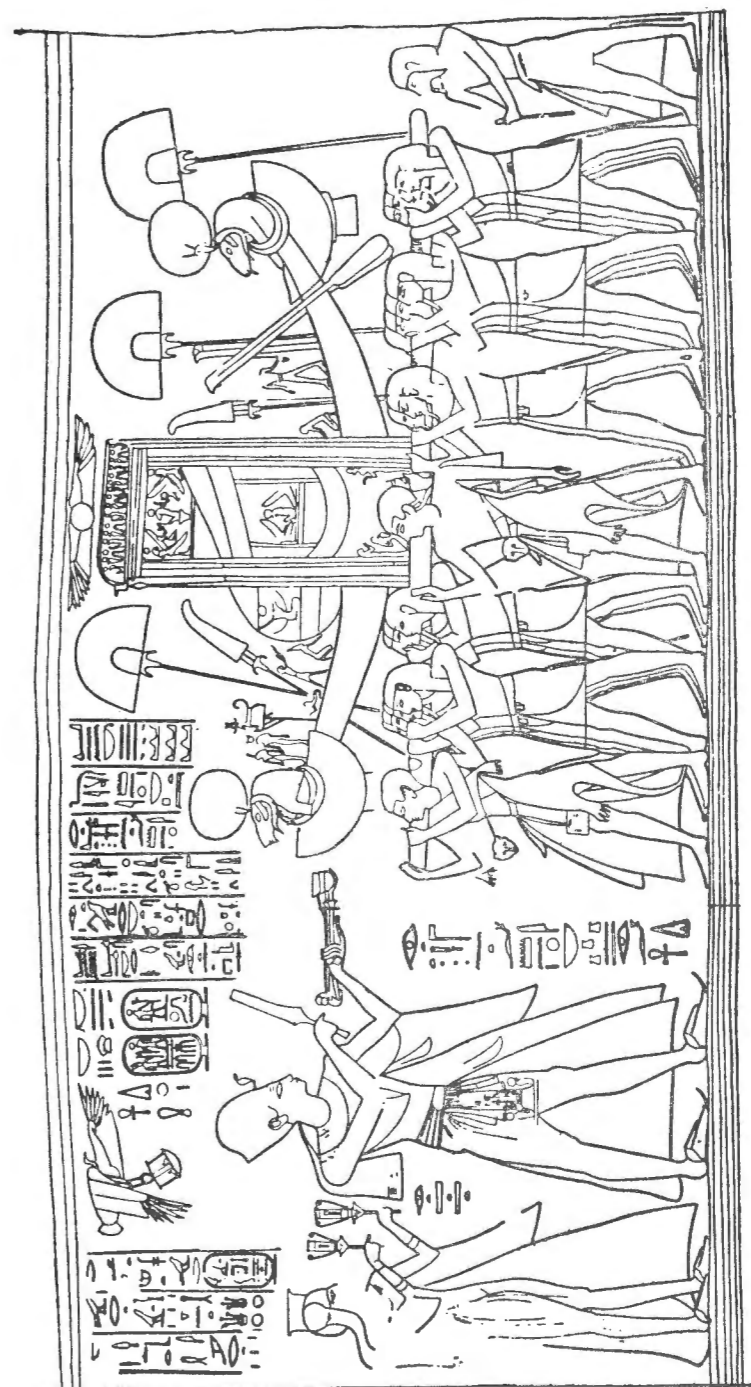


Fig. 66. — Bark of Amenre in the Second Court of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel.

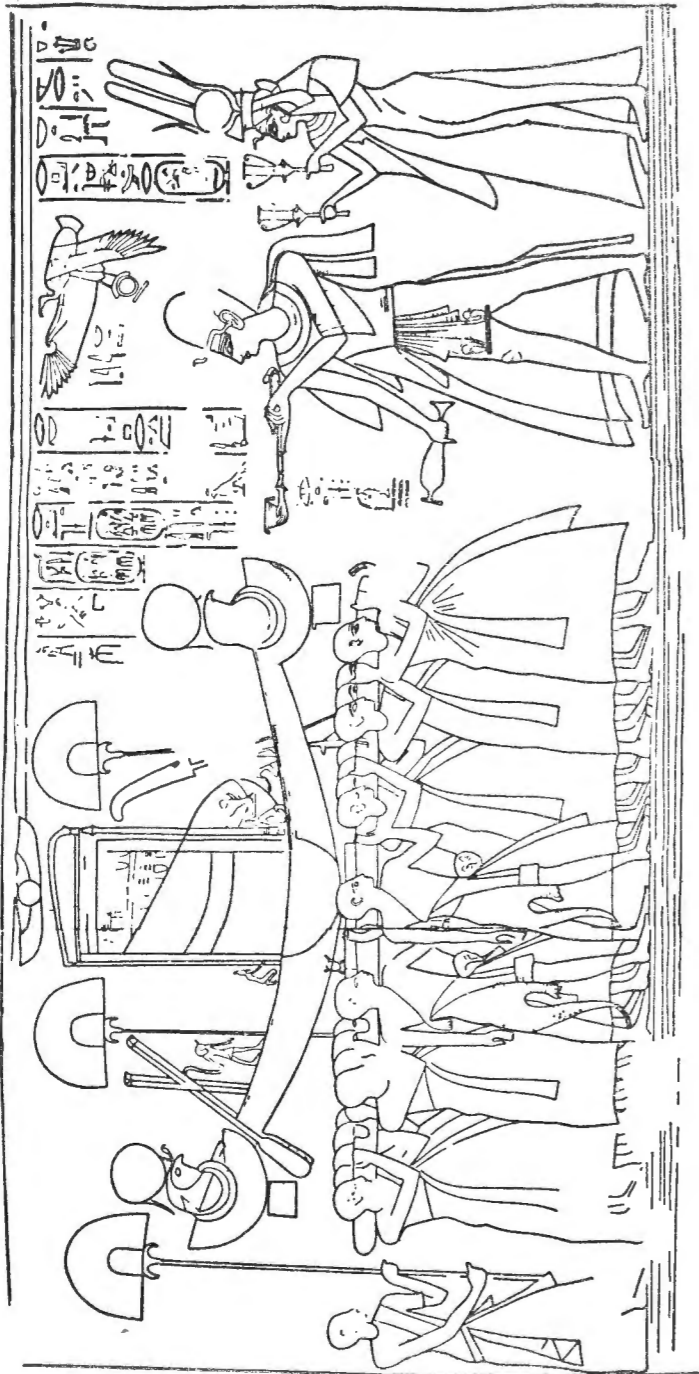


Fig. 67. — Bark of the deified Ramesses II in the Second Court of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel.

of Ramesses : [2] 'I give to thee all valour against the Southern Countries and victory against the Northern Countries, all Foreign Countries being under thy sandals'» (fig. 68).

Thus in the Second Hall and the Sanctuary, the deified Ramesses II replaces Re-Harakhti on the northern side, while the southern side still pertains for the representations of Amenre, his bark and the deities related to him. But if in the southern half of the temple, the latter god almost always appears, while in the northern half Re-Harakhti replaced in the Second Hall and the Sanctuary by the deified Ramesses, seems to preside, this does not mean that here we have a double temple, like that of Kom Ombo as J. Ampère suggested⁽¹⁾. The latter can almost be said to be two temples combined together, one dedicated to Sobk and the other to Heroueris, a god of quite a different form and nature from his companion⁽²⁾.

It is known that the temple of Tuthmosis III — Amenophis II — Tuthmosis IV at Amada was also dedicated to Amenre and Re-Harakhti⁽³⁾. These two deities, who were the main divinities of the New Empire, must be considered as closely related to one another. They are solar deities, the former representing perhaps the South and the other the North. In the Great Temple, the king was assimilated to them. This is certainly the case when he replaces Re-Harakhti in the Second Hall and the Sanctuary. But in the Great Hall and the rooms branching off from it the king is often shown in two different forms. In some cases he is hawk-headed having on his head the crescent and the disk. This headdress is peculiar to Thoth and Khonsu, while only the latter god is represented hawk-headed. From this it can be concluded that the king, when shown in this form, represented Khonsu, thus completing the Theban triad, usually depicted on the southern half of the Temple. In other cases the king is depicted in human form, having on his head a sun-disk and a side curved horn. As we have the representation of

⁽¹⁾ *Voyage en Egypte et en Nubie*, p. 509 f.

⁽²⁾ CHRISTOPHE, «Quelques remarques sur le grand temple d'Abou Simbel», in *Revue du Caire* LXVII, pp. 322 ff.

⁽³⁾ PORTER-MOSS, *Bibl.* VII, pp. 65 ff.

Re-Harakhti and his consort on the southern side, we may assume that the king here stands for the son of the gods, such as Shu. It is noteworthy that on the southern side of the doorway leading from the Vestibule to the Sanctuary, there is a scene showing the king offering to the deified Ramesses, shown in this form and accompanied with Mā'et, described usually as the daughter of Re (above p. 223).

It may sound strange that the deified king should be shown with the head of a hawk. But this represents undoubtedly a kind of assimilation of which we shall mention many examples at the end of this study. The alternative form in which the king appears as a divinity is characterised by the sun-disk and sideward curved horn on his head. This somewhat unusual representation is to be seen in one of the side-rooms of the temple, where the king in human form stands opposite himself in divine form offering wine. The latter figure is referred to as «*Ramesses-meramen, the great god*»⁽¹⁾. A strange example is to be seen on a pillar in the Second Hall, where the hawk-headed divinised king is shown embracing Anukis, who is holding the sign of life to his nose⁽²⁾. It is interesting to note that in most of the scenes in which the king is shown in one of these two forms, the name of the deified king is not placed in a cartouche.

But had the king been already deified when the temple was decorated? To reply to such a question, we have to know when the temple was cut and how it was decorated. The cliffs where the temples of Abu Simbel stand seem to have been considered as sacred places. Graffiti of the Old and Middle Kingdoms were carved on them long before the two temples existed⁽³⁾. Furthermore in several places in the Small Temple it is mentioned that the temple was cut in the Holy Mountain, for example the one on the architrave of the First Hall. The inscription reads : «*Live the good god, great of dignity, the lion of victory and master of strength, who envelops the lands of the rebels, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands 'Usermare-setpenre', son of Re, of his own body, his beloved,*

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 106, no. 48.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 109 Pillar IX.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 117, nos. 3 and 4, p. 119, no. 25.

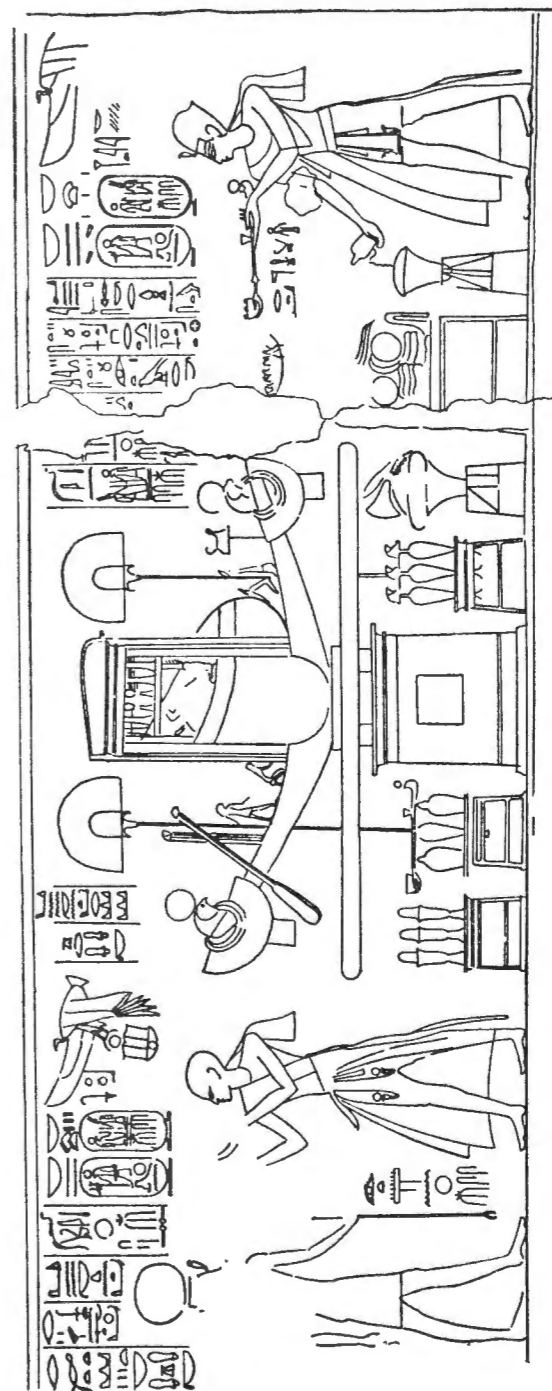


Fig. 68. — Bark of the deified king in the Sanctuary of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel.

lord of diadems, 'Ramesses-meramen', His beloved the great king's wife 'Nefertari-merenmut', she made a Temple in the Holy Mountain, given life forever»⁽¹⁾.

As for the date when the Great Temple was carved, it is very difficult to fix it exactly. However, Christophe⁽²⁾ observed that the first nine sons of the king are depicted in the southern side of the eastern wall of the First Hall. This proves that they were still alive when this hall was decorated; a fact which indicates that this part of the temple was already finished at the beginning of the reign of Ramesses II. Christophe noted also that the decree of Ptah dated in the king's 35th regnal year hides a part of the already decorated pillars in the Great Hall and that the Marriage Stela, supposed to have been carved shortly after the 34th year, was placed at the southern end of the façade instead of at some more important spot in the temple itself. All these points indicate that the temple was already completed by the year 35 of the king's reign. It should be remembered that the viceroy Setau carved two large stelae to the south of the temple. These are dated in the 38th year and show the king smiting his enemies, once before Amenre and once in front of Horus of Buhen. Setau would not have chosen this place for his stelae, had it not been already chosen by the king as the site of his temples. If the temples had not been already completed, he would not have missed the opportunity of commemorating his own role in their creation in one or more inscriptions, as he did at other places.

But if the temple was begun early in the reign of the king and completed only about the 35th year, we have to envisage the fact that certain parts were carved and decorated before the rest. In temples built with blocks of stones, it was customary in Egypt to build the sanctuary first, then the other parts of the temple and finally the façade. But with temples carved in the rock the contrary was undoubtedly the case. The façade and the First Hall were necessarily the first parts to be carved and decorated, while the other parts would follow, and the sanctuary would be made last of all.

⁽¹⁾ LD, V, p. 170. NOBLECOURT-KUENTZ, *Le petit Temple d'Abou Simbel*, p. 78 f.

⁽²⁾ In a communication read at the «Institut d'Égypte» (not yet published, but kindly shown to me).

It would then be during the first part of the reign of Ramesses, when the façade of the temple was being decorated, that the king had not yet been deified. Each of the four colossi carved there was given a name, which is engraved on the two shoulders following one of the names of the king. The first one on the south was called «Beloved of the Ruler of the Two Lands», the name of the second is destroyed, the third is called «Amenmer», and the last «Atemmer» (fig. 69 a).

Inside the First Hall, the Osiride statues standing in front of the pillars have similar names. The northern row of statues (from east to west) are called : «Ruler of the Two Lands», «Amenmer», «Atemmer», and «Beloved of Re the Rulers» (fig. 69 b). Following the same order on the other side, we find : «Amenmer», «Horakhtimer», «Atemmer» and «Ruler of the Two Lands» (fig. 69 c). It seems then that the names of the statues in the First Hall correspond with those of the façade except where Horakhti changes place with «Re of the

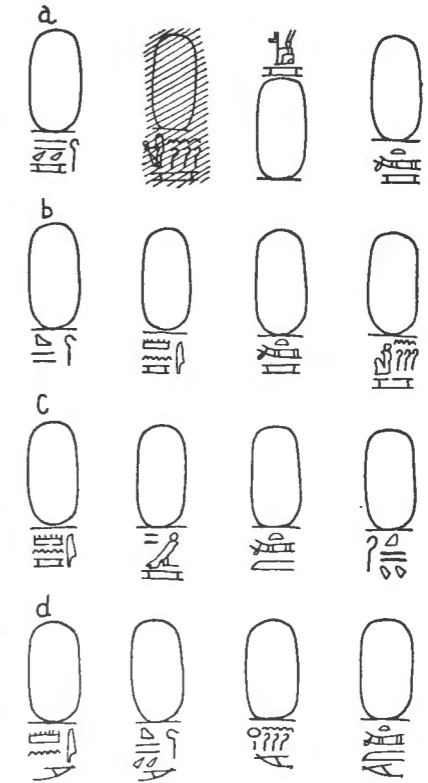


Fig. 69. — Names of Colossi in the Great Temple (a, b, c) and in the Small Temple (d) of Abu Simbel.

Rulers». One of these two names must have appeared also on the shoulders of the destroyed statue of the façade. Furthermore, instead of «Beloved of the Ruler of the two Lands», which we find on the façade, the two statues in the First Hall are called simply «Ruler of the Two Lands».

It may be assumed, therefore, that when the façade was completed, the deification of the king had not yet taken place. But later when the First Hall was decorated, some features suggesting deification

were introduced; for example when the statues were called «Ruler-of-the-Two-Lands» instead of «Beloved-of-Ruler-of-the-Two-Lands» and when the king was depicted in the forms mentioned above. But it seems that the idea of deification was not finally given whole-hearted expression until later in the reign, perhaps on the occasion of one of the king's jubilees.

This conclusion can be drawn from the scenes on the walls dividing the First from the Second Hall. As we mentioned above, in the First Hall on the south side of the doorway leading to the Second Hall, the king is shown leading a group of Nubian captives to Amenre and Mut, between whom was later inserted the figure of the deified king, and an inscription in which he promises blessing to his human-self. On the north side of the same door, the figure of the deified king was added between Re-Harakhti and Ius-as with an inscription promising blessings to the king opposite. In the Second Hall, there are two similar scenes. On the south of the same doorway in the Second Hall we see the king offering flowers to Amenre and Mut sitting opposite him. To introduce the figure of the deified Ramesses II between these two deities, the artist had to present him seated beside Amenre, while the goddess stands behind the two, the legs of the goddess, as originally seated, are still visible (though no doubt plastered over at the time when the scene was recut). The inscription added above the king reads : «*Utterance of Ramesses-meramen 'I gave to thee all life, stability, dominion and health'*» (fig. 70). In the corresponding scene to the north were depicted Amen-Min-Kamutef followed by Isis, both shown standing. To add the figure of the deified king between the two deities, the artist was forced to carve him on the lettuce plants represented behind the god an altar. It is interesting to see how the ribbon hanging down behind the back of the god was transformed into a scepter for the king, and how the hand of the goddess, originally holding a scepter, was changed, so that she places it on the shoulder of the deified king. The last two columns of the inscription appertaining to the god were replaced by one belonging to the deified king which reads : «*Utterance of Usermare-meramen 'I gave to thee'*», but there was not room enough to complete the inscription.

These changes seem to indicate that the idea of the deification of the king was finally established at the moment when the scene above the main doorway on the façade had to be carved. This consists of a niche



Fig. 70. — Scene on the south of the doorway in the Second Court of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel.

containing a big figure in the middle flanked by signs. On each side the king is shown with uplifted arms and holding the Mā'et-sign in one hand. The figure inside the niche which the king is adoring is a hawk-headed god with large *wsr*-sign on the right and a mā'et-figure on the left. This group is certainly to be read : «*Usermare*», and represents the prenomen of the king. Nevertheless it is accompanied by a column of inscription on the sides of the niche saying : «*Utterance of Horakhti 'I gave to thee the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum'*»⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ PORTER-MOSS, *Bibl.* VII, p. 101.

(fig. 71). The hawk-headed figure was therefore considered to be Re-Harakhti, and for this reason the temple was thought to have been dedicated to that god. But he is depicted here not in his own right but simply as one of the signs used to write the prenominal of the king to whose deified form the temple seems to have been dedicated. This is the reason why the temple received the name : «The House-of-Ramesses-meramen». The statue of the deified Ramesses at the end of the sanctuary (the last part to be completed) with Ptah, Amenre, and Re-Harakhti reinforces this view.

In the Small Temple of Abu Simbel, only one scene refers to the deified king. This is on the north wall of the sanctuary, where Ramesses is shown offering incense before his deified-self and the deified Nefertari⁽¹⁾. In the rest of the temple it is the queen who is given particular prominence and in the dedication inscription in several places it is explicitly stated that the temple was built by and for her. She is depicted offering to the local or State deities and in one scene she is represented as being crowned by Isis and Hathor.

The façade of the Small temple is adorned on each side of the main doorway with a statue of the queen between two statues of the king, each in a separate niche. Above the statue of the king to the south of the doorway is the inscription : «*Ruler-of-the-Two-Lands, meramen*», while in the side inscription he is described as : «*Beloved-of-the-Ruler-of-the-Two-Lands*». Above the statue on the northern side of the doorway is an inscription reading «*Re-of-the-Rulers meratum*». On the side, he is described as : «*Beloved of Re-of-the-Rulers*»⁽²⁾.

Since the two statues on either side of the doorway were called : «*Beloved of the Re-of-the-Rulers*» and «*Beloved of the Ruler-of-the-Two-Lands*» the other statues at the outer ends of the façade must have been called : «*Amenmer*» and «*Atemmer*». Thus the four statues of the king on the façade of the Small Temple would have had the same names as those on the façade of the Great Temple (fig. 69 d).

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 116, no. 40, NOBLECOURT-KUENTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 104 f.

⁽²⁾ These names must not be taken as those of the two statues in the middle (*ibid.*, p. 13 f. and footnotes 67 and 73) but as those of the four statues.

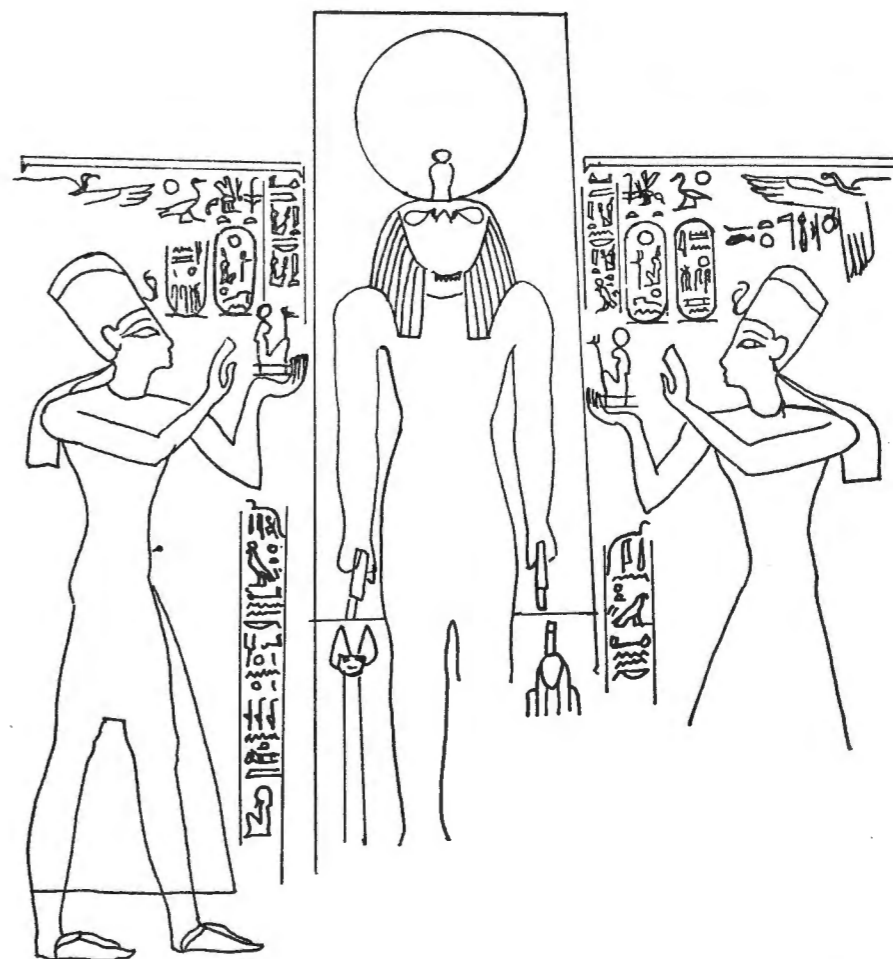


Fig. 71. — Niche above the main entrance of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel.

It is not easy to say when the Small Temple was made. Christophe, in the communication he made in the Institut d'Égypte referred to above (No. 2 on page 230), says that Nefertari was already dead when the decoration of the temple was being carried out. But he states further on that : «En conclusion, on peut, semble-t-il, affirmer que le temple d'Hathor, construit et décoré du vivant même de Néfertari, n'est pas de beaucoup postérieur au grand temple d'Abou Simbel. Et ce sont sans doute aux

mêmes architectes et aux mêmes équipes de carriers, de sculpteurs, de scribes et graveurs que nous devons ces deux chefs-d'œuvre».

There are indications that work on the Small Temple was started early in the reign of the king. The big Stela of Hekanakht to the south of the Great Temple shows the viceroy in the lower register kneeling before Nefertari; a fact which points to his being more concerned with the temple of the queen than with that of the king. But Hekanakht is supposed to have assumed his functions near the beginning of the reign of Ramesses. Furthermore, just to the north of the Small Temple is a big rock stela showing the viceroy Yuny before his seated sovereign. This high official is known to have served the king at the very beginning of his reign⁽¹⁾. This again would seem to indicate that work on the temple was started early in the reign and this would explain why no references to the deified king appear in this temple, except in the Sanctuary which was the last part of the Speos to be finished.

The Temple of Beit El-Wali was also certainly built in the early years of Ramesses reign, in many places in this temple the prenomen of the king is written simply as «*Usermare*» without the epithet «*setpenre*», which became usual later⁽²⁾. Amenemope, who like Yuny, occupied the post of viceroy of Kush under both Ramesses II and his father⁽³⁾ is mentioned among the representations of the battle scenes against the Nubians on the walls of this temple.

Not a single scene in the whole temple shows the king as deified. In an article entitled «Divinities Adored in the Area of Kalabsha with a Special Reference to Goddess Miket» we shall discuss the gods represented in the Temple of Beit El-Wali and will show that in the northern half of the temple it is the deities of the Cataract Region, who are in the most part to be seen, while in the southern half the gods of Nubia are represented; Amenre occupies the central part.

After Beit El-Wali comes the Temple of Gerf Hussein. This was built by Setau, who left there many monuments and inscriptions in

⁽¹⁾ PORTER-MOSS, *Bibl.* VII, p. 118, no. 17 and 117 no. 10 successively, but see above p. 152 f.

⁽²⁾ SEELE, *The Coregency of Ramses II with Seti I . . .*, pp. 27-29.

⁽³⁾ REISNER, «The Viceroys of Ethiopia», in *JEA*, VI, 38 (10) and 39 (11).

his own name, including two inscriptions carved in the chamber to the north of the Vestibule⁽¹⁾. It is known that this viceroy exercised his function from about the year 35 to the year 50 of the reign of Ramesses⁽²⁾. Some time after his appointment in this post, perhaps even after the year 40, he erected this temple. The quality of work in this temple is mediocre and it seems certain that the edifice will be left to be submerged by the waters of the High Dam.

In this temple, the king is seen offering to or worshipping many deities, and in particular Amenre, Re-Harakhti and Ptah, the last-mentioned being the god to whom the temple was dedicated. The temple is called : «*The-Temple-of-Ramesses-meramen-in-the-House-of-Ptah*». Ramesses I is among the deities worshipped there by Ramesses II, together with Ramesses II's own deified-self. On each side of the First Hall, there are four niches, each containing a triad formed usually of a god and his consort with the king between them. In the panels between these niches the king is represented offering to the triad, thus he is worshipping the triad including his own-self. In the niche at the back of the Sanctuary, there are four figures, these being from south to north : Ptah-of-Ramesses-meramen, the king himself, Ptah-tenen-of-Ramesses-meramen and Hathor-of-the-South-Sycamore. It is noteworthy that in the Vestibule of this temple and in that of Es-Sebua', the same deities are shown worshipped by the king. It is curious that the figure of the king in both cases was formerly mistaken for Ramesses I⁽³⁾.

Next in order comes the Temple of Wadi Es-Sebua', so-called because of the Avenue of Sphinxes which precedes it. This temple also was built between years 35 and 50 by the viceroy Setau, who left numerous inscriptions there. He seems to have been stationed here with a regiment

⁽¹⁾ PORTER-MOSS, *Bibl.* VII, p. 36, nos. 29 and 30.

⁽²⁾ See our article : «Setau, the Famous Viceroy of Ramses II and his Career», in *NUBIE = Cahiers d'Histoire Egyptienne X* (1967), pp. 51 ff.; cf. p. 58, (above p. 135 f.).

⁽³⁾ For this scene, see PORTER-MOSS, *Bibl.* VII, p. 35 under no. 21; for the triads in the First Hall, see p. 34 f. (9-10, 13-14) and for the statues in the Sanctuary, see p. 36 (40).

of soldiers, the members of which dedicated stelae in honour of the king and his viceroy⁽¹⁾. One of these stelae mentions temples built by Ramesses which had become ruinous.

Wadi Es-Sebu' Temple is called «*Temple-of-Ramesses-meramen-in-the-House-of-Amun*», but Amun was not the only god worshipped there. As in the Great Temple of Abu Simbel, other deities were adored there as well, especially Re-Harakhti and the deified king. Exactly as in this latter temple, Amenre and deities related to him are usually depicted in the southern half and Re-Harakhti and his triad are more often represented on the other side. The deified king replaces Re-Harakhti at least once in the Sanctuary and is depicted often among the other gods; thus this temple seems to have been decorated at a time when the deification was already accomplished, unlike the Great Temple of Abu Simbel.

In the so-called Altar Room, we see on the door lintel a double-scene showing the king before Re-Harakhti on the north and before Amenre on the south⁽²⁾. The same holds true of the outer face of the Pylon, though in these scenes, the king is represented smiting captives before the two gods respectively⁽³⁾. On the outer side of the lintel of the door leading to the inner court, the king is shown offering to Amenre; on the inner side, he stands opposite Amenre and the deified Ramesses II⁽⁴⁾. On the outer side of the doorway leading to the Vestibule is a double-scene with the king offering to Horus and then to Amun and Mut on one side while on the other he offers to Re-Harakhti and Buto⁽⁵⁾. On the inner side of the lintel are similar scenes of the king before Amenre and Re-Harakhti⁽⁶⁾. The same scenes are repeated once more on the doorway leading to the Antechamber⁽⁷⁾.

⁽¹⁾ ASAE, XI, pp. 64 ff.

⁽²⁾ PORTER-MOSS, *Bibl.* VII, p. 57 no. 24.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 58, nos. 30 and 31.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 58, nos. 38, 39, 45 and 46.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 59, nos. 61 and 62.

⁽⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 60, nos. 67 and 68.

⁽⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 60, nos. 77 and 78.

On the doorway which gives access to the Sanctuary, it is clear that the deified king, together with Amenre, is the subject of adoration. On the outer face of the doorway is a double-scene in which the king is seen running towards Amun and the deified Ramesses II on the southern side and towards Monthu and the deified Ramesses II on the other. On the inner face of the same doorway, the king is depicted twice, kneeling in front of two sphinxes placed back to back; the two latter figures are referred to as «*Ramesses-meramen in the House-of-Amun*», indicating that they represent the deified Ramesses II⁽¹⁾.

On the south wall of the Sanctuary the king is shown burning incense before a bark whose stern and prow are decorated with rams' heads. The inscription accompanying the bark reads: «*Utterance of Amun-of-Ramesses-meramen in the House-of-Amun: 'I gave thee victory, I gave thee lands in peace'*»⁽²⁾. On the north wall the king is kneeling in front of a bark with hawks' heads at the stern and prow. This has been thought to represent the bark of Harmakhis⁽³⁾, but the accompanying inscription reads: «*The cult-statue and the bark of Ramesses-meramen-in-the-House-of-Amun, every life, dominion to him and health to him*». No mention is made of Harmakhis or any divinity, and it is clearly stated that the bark is that of the king.

Furthermore, we find the king in many places in the temple adoring or offering to a group of deities among whom is the deified Ramesses II. Thus in the Vestibule, we have the king offering libation and incense to Ptah, the deified Ramesses II and Hathor⁽⁴⁾, while on the wall opposite he offers the sign of Ma'et to Amun, the deified Ramesses II and Khonsu⁽⁵⁾. On the other side of the Vestibule the king is again offering libation and incense to Onuris, the deified Ramesses II⁽⁶⁾ and Nekhbet, while opposite the king is shown Re-Harakhti, the deified Ramesses II and Atum⁽⁷⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 61, nos. 110 and 111 and p. 62, nos. 116, 117.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 62, no. 118 and GAUTHIER, *Le Temple de Ouadi Es-Seboua*, p. 203.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 205 f. and PORTER-MOSS, *Bibl.* VII, p. 62, nos. 120 and 121.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 60, no. 69.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 60, no. 72.

⁽⁶⁾ Taken as Tefnut by GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, 144.

⁽⁷⁾ PORTER-MOSS, *Bibl.* VII, p. 60, nos. 73, 76.

In the Antechamber, we have the king burning incense before Ptah, Ptah-Tenen, the deified Ramesses II and Hathor⁽¹⁾. On the opposite side the king appears offering wine to Amun, the deified Ramesses II taken for Khonsu by Gauthier and Mut⁽²⁾. On the northern side of the room the king is burning incense before Onuris-Shu, the deified Ramesses II, Tefnut and Nekhbet and offering wine to Re-Harakhti, the deified Ramesses II and Ius-as⁽³⁾. The last scene reminds us of an almost identical scene in the Great Temple of Abu Simbel, only there the figure of the deified Ramesses II was added later (see above p. 222). The deification of the king was already an established fact before Es-Sebua Temple was decorated.

A long curve of the Nile separates the latter temple from that of Ed-Derr. This temple is the only one built by Ramesses II on the eastern bank of the Nile. As the Nile here flows in a great curve from west to east the temple actually faces North but theoretically West. Since the river was considered to flow South-North, the temple faced West with the North on the spectator's left and the South on his right. The temple was called: «*The Temple of Ramesses-meramen in the House-of-Re*».

Examining the scenes of particular importance, we find that they resemble to a great extent the corresponding scenes in the Great Temple of Abu Simbel. In the First Pillared Hall, we have two scenes, similar to those of the Great Hall of Abu Simbel (see above p. 222). The one to the theoretical north shows the king smiting captives before Re-Harakhti, while the one to the south represents him smiting prisoners before Amenre⁽⁴⁾. In the Second Pillared Hall, we have at the middle of the Northern wall the king offering flowers before a bark carried by priests. The prow and stern of the bark are in the form of hawk's head and an aegis, the accompanying inscription says: «*The cult-stature*

⁽¹⁾ Ptah-Tenen is considered by GAUTHIER to be the king whereas the figure of the deified king is said to be that of an unknown god; *op. cit.*, p. 181; PORTER-MOSS, *op. cit.*, p. 60, no. 84.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 60, no. 87 and GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, p. 185 f.

⁽³⁾ PORTER-MOSS, *op. cit.*, p. 61, nos. 88, 91.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 85, no. 6, and p. 86, no. 8.

and the bark of Ramessu-meramen in the House-of-Re»⁽¹⁾. Opposite, on the middle on the southern wall, there is a somewhat similar scene. There the king is offering incense and libation to a bark carried by priests. Here again the prow and stern are shaped in the form of hawks' heads, this time surmounted by a sun-disk. The accompanying inscription reads: «*Utterance of the cult-stature and boat of (Ramessu)-meramen*»⁽²⁾.

In both scenes it is clear that the sacred bark belongs to the king and not to any other divinity; no divinity is mentioned and it is explicitly stated that the bark and the statue are those of the king. The expression used here to refer to the bark and the statue is exactly the same as that used on the north wall of the Sanctuary of Es-Sebua's Temple (see above p. 239).

On the northern and southern walls of the Sanctuary in Ed-Derr Temple, the barks are shown placed on stands. On the northern wall the king is offering incense and libation before the bark and the deified Ramesses II depicted here with a sun-disk on the head. This is followed by another scene in which he is offering cloth to Ptah⁽³⁾ (fig. 72). On the opposite wall, the king is again shown offering incense and libation to a bark on a stand and then anointing the god Re-Harakhti⁽⁴⁾ (fig. 73). No inscription accompanies the barks in these scenes, but as was already noted by Blackman, they must again have been representing the cult statue and bark of the deified Ramesses II⁽⁵⁾. In Abu Simbel, it is only on the northern walls of the Second Hall and the Sanctuary that the bark was that of the deified king. It is worth noticing that while at Ed-Derr the king is offering just to his bark and the deified Ramesses II and then offering cloth to Ptah, in the corresponding scene at Abu Simbel he is offering to his sacred bark and afterwards offering cloth to his deified-self. On the southern wall in Ed-Derr, he is anointing Re-Harakhti instead of Amen-Kamutef as at Abu Simbel and is offering to his own sacred bark instead of to that of Amun.

⁽¹⁾ A.M. BLACKMAN, *The Temple of Derr*, pp. 42 ff. and pls. XXXI-XXXII.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 54 ff. and pls. XLI-XLII.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 92 ff. and pls. LVII-LX.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 96 ff. and pls. LXI-LXIII.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 2 and 93 f.

At Ed-Derr, the deified king is depicted in several places. On the eastern wall of the Second Pillared Hall, the king offers Ma'et to Amenre, the deified Ramesses and Mut; the deified king is referred to in the following words : «*The great god, the lord of the Two Lands 'Usermaresetpenre', lord of diadems 'Ramessu-meramen'*»⁽¹⁾. In the side-chamber to the north of the Sanctuary, the king is seen running with *hap* and oar towards the deified Ramesses who is referred to as : «*Ramessu-meramen in the bark in the House-of-Re*»⁽²⁾. In the southern side-chamber, on the west wall, there is a double-scene, each half showing the king offering to the deified Ramesses II, in both cases the deified king is referred to as «*Ramessu-meramen in the shrine in the House-of-Re, given life like Re*»⁽³⁾. In the niche in the sanctuary are represented the same figures as in the sanctuary of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel. These similarities indicate that Ramesses II built his temple at Ed-Derr some time after he built the Great temple of Abu Simbel. Many scenes are comparable. However the group in which the deified king is shown between Amenre and Mut in Ed-Derr proves that the cult of the king was already established when this temple was decorated.

After Ed-Derr, we pass by the two temples of Abu Simbel to reach the last temple erected by the king in Lower Nubia. This is Aksha Temple which is quite small in comparison with the temples of which we have already spoken. All the upper parts have been destroyed and some scenes are not easily understandable. But luckily numerous travellers and historians passed here during the last century and described parts of the temple which have since disappeared. What remains of the temple and its environs was explored and recorded by a Franco-Argentine expedition in 1961 in order to gather all possible information about the site before it was finally flooded by the waters of the High Dam.

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 49 f. and pl. XXXVII, 2.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 86 f. and pl. LV.

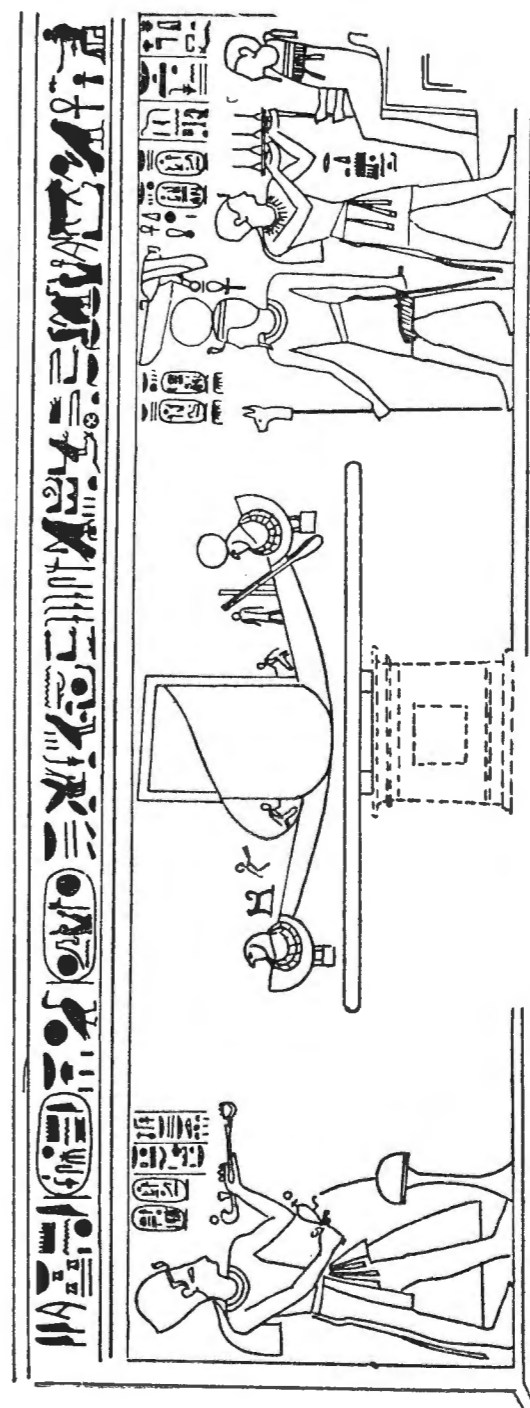


Fig. 72. — Bark of the deified Ramesses II in the Sanctuary of Ed-Derr Temple (northern side).

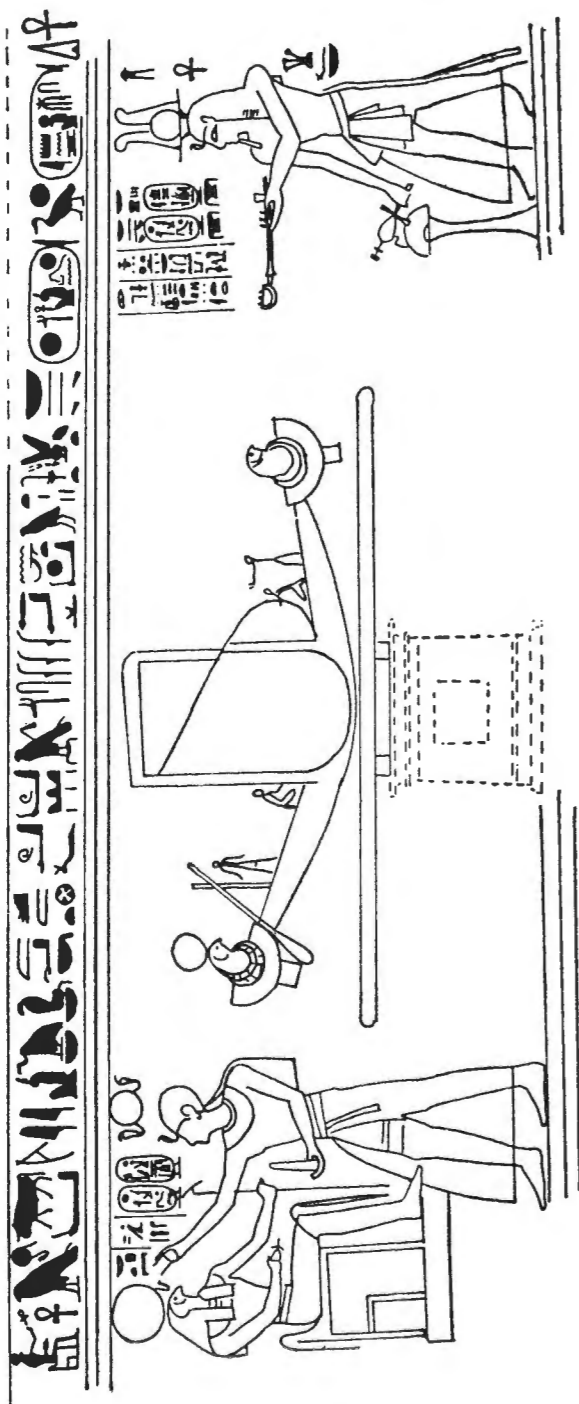


Fig. 73. — Bark of the deified Ramesses II in the Sanctuary of Ed-Derr Temple (southern side).

From the work of this expedition, it is clear that the temple consisted of a sanctuary, a vestibule, a court and pylon, preceded by another, court and pylon⁽¹⁾. On the southern jamb of the still remaining pylon on the outer side, is a scene showing the king offering flowers to the deified Ramesses II⁽²⁾. On the northern jamb of the door leading to the vestibule are the remains of a scene depicting the king before a statue called «*Living Image of Ramessu-meramen*»⁽³⁾. A lintel found near the remaining pylon by the Franco-Argentine expedition shows the king before the deified Ramesses II, who is called «*Usermare-setpenre, the great god, Lord of Nubia*»⁽⁴⁾. It is clear that here again the king was represented as deified and that his statue was adored under the name of «*The Living Image of Ramessu-meramen*».

It may be asked what influenced the choice of site for these seven temples of Lower Nubia. In certain cases we can find an answer. Beit El-Wali was about 50 kms. south of Aswan, a place of undoubted strategic importance, near the southern end of Bab Kalabsha. For this reason were temples built there before and after Ramesses' II reign⁽⁵⁾. Another 40 kms. southwards brings us to the Temple of Gorf Hussein. This place again must have been of importance since in later times a fortified city was nearby built, namely Sabaghura. Es-Sebua Temple, about 60 kms. south of Gorf Hussein, lies at the beginning of a great curve in the Nile, from which important roads branched out into the desert and where regiments of the army were stationed⁽⁶⁾. At the end of another curve, some 50 kms. further, was erected the Temple of Ed-Derr. Few are the cliffs which are so lofty as those of Abu Simbel where the two most important temples were carved. They lie about 80 kms. to the south, not far from the quarries of Toshka, and just

⁽¹⁾ VERCOUTTER, «Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Aksha by the Franco-Argentine Archaeological Expedition, 1961», in *Kush* X, pp. 109 ff.

⁽²⁾ LD, III, p. 191, no. 1; PORTER-MOSS, *Bibl.* VII, p. 127, no. 1.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 127, no. 14.

⁽⁴⁾ VERCOUTTER, *op. cit.*, p. 113 and pl. XXXIV d.

⁽⁵⁾ The present writer, in a study about «Divinities Adored in the Area of Kalabsha with a Special Reference to Goddess Miket», (above pp. 197 ff.).

⁽⁶⁾ *Kush* VIII, p. 52, above pp. 195 ff.

before the land begins to flatten out. Aksha, situated about 40 kms. from Abu Simbel, is not far from Faras, where kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty had built temples, nor from Serreh, where a huge fortress had stood dating from the XIIth Dynasty.

Before ending this chapter, it may be worthwhile to mention a stela found by Weigall at Tonkala, between Tomas and Afieh. It shows the king offering two vases to Horus of Miam. Underneath is an inscription of four horizontal lines mentioning a *hm-k*; of a royal statue called «*Ramessu-meramen-Beloved-of-Horus*». Did this statue stand in a temple at Aniba nearby? It is difficult to say. But in any case it certainly received the honours of a cult. Aniba, the ancient Miam, was an important place in the Ramesside period, and it is quite possible that Ramesses II built a temple or chapel there where his cult was celebrated as it was in many other places in Lower Nubia ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ WEIGALL, *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, p. 113, pl. LXIV, 7; also in PORTER-MOSS, *Bibl.* VII, p. 90, (above p. 130).

CHAPTER XIV

MENTUHOTP, THE VIZIER AND SON-IN-LAW OF TAHARQA

IN 1967, Dr. Hodzhash wrote a short article in Russian — but luckily with a summary in English — on an interesting scarab in carnelian, which came from the V.S. Golenischev collection and is now in the Pushkin Museum (I, Ia 2398) ⁽¹⁾. Hodzhash's description of this scarab, measuring $1.8 \times 1.6 \times 0.9$ cm. mentions that «It is oval in shape, the slightly protruding head is marked off from the body by two scratched curved lines representing the wings, the legs are rendered with oblique raised strips». On the flat surface of the back is represented the jubilee sign, above which the owner of the scarab is shown sitting on a stool, wearing a wig, a kilt and leopard skin, all rendered in beautiful detail. In front of the owner is an offering table, towards which he extends his left hand, whereas the right one is placed on his lap. Under the table and right of it are carved the signs which indicate the usual offerings: «Bread and beer, oxen and fowl». The inscription in front of the owner gives his titles and name. These were rendered by Dr. Hodzhash as: Prince, priest of Hor, divine father, priest head of the city, the great, the vizier Mont(u)hotp (fig. 74) ⁽²⁾.



Fig. 74. — Scarab of Mentuhotp (GMII I, Ia 2398).

⁽¹⁾ «Скаравей везира Монт(у)хотпа ...», in *VDI* 101 [1967]. For the Russian article, see p. 63 f. and for the summary in English, see p. 64 f., figs. Ia, 2 3 in plate.

⁽²⁾ For the new drawings of figs 75, 76 and 77 I wish to express my thanks to Dr. K.-H. Priese.

Her article concludes with the words : «The form of the scarab, with its schematically rendered legs, is characteristic of the Saite period. The vizier's costume, the archaising iconography of the figure, the carefully polished surface of the stone all argue for a date in the Saite period. Scarab I, Ia 2398 belonged to an otherwise unknown vizier of the XXVIth dynasty»⁽¹⁾.

Relatively few scarabs made in the semi-precious stone of carnelian have been recorded and even less are those finely engraved with such an important inscription as the one under discussion. This inscription gives us the name and titles of a vizier previously unknown. Fortunately in recent years was added to the collection of the Cairo Museum a more important monument of the same man. Through its inscription we can now better follow his career as well as determine the reign of the king he served.

The monument in question is a large stela in yellow quartzite, 181 cm. high, 59 cm. wide, and 25 cm. thick. I first became aware of this stela three years ago, when I noticed it in front of the western entrance of the Cairo Museum, where it is still lying. I have been unable to determine neither the provenance of the stela nor when it came to the Cairo Museum. Originally the monument was a free-standing stela, having been decorated on the two faces. On the face which is better preserved (fig. 75) the round top is engraved with an offering formula in the centre, this being the usual method of separating two confronted inscriptions. The inscription to the (spectator's) right reads : «*May the king give offerings (to) [2] Anubis, pre-eminent in the divine booth, [3] the one who is in the place of embalming, lord of the Necropolis, [4] (namely) an invocation offering to him in every feast*». That on the left reads : «*May the king give offerings (to) [2] Anubis, who is over his mountain, the one who is in the place of embalming, [3] lord of the Necropolis ...*»⁽²⁾.

Below is a horizontal line, having two inscriptions beginning in the middle with the words *di htp*, common for both which are running in

⁽¹⁾ *VDI*, 101 [1967], 64 f.

⁽²⁾ Quite probable we had a similar inscription like the one on the right.



Fig. 75. — Cairo Stela of Mentuhotp, main face, upper half.

opposite directions. The one to the left is mostly effaced, the only legible signs are : «Offerings given to Osiris . . .». That to the right is continued by a vertical line of which only the upper part survived : «Offering given to Geb, Prince of gods, (namely) an invocation offering formed of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, to him in the head of the year, the opening of the year, in the procession of Min, in the sd3-feast, in the Burning feast . . .». Under the first horizontal line follows a second one with two inscriptions, also beginning from the middle and running in opposite directions. The one to the left preserves clearly only the signs : «May the king give offerings (to) Anubis . . .», while that on the right is complete and reads : «May the king give offerings (to) Anubis, pre-eminent in the divine booth».

The principal scene in the centre of the stela shows Mentuhotp on the left and his wife opposite, with an offering table between them. The figure of the wife and the accompanying inscription are well preserved. She is referred to with the words : «His wife, his beloved, the mistress of the house and the hereditary princess, [2] the great of charm, the great of love, the mistress of graciousness, sweet of [3] love, the favoured through Hathor Nebthotep, [4] the king's daughter, Amenardais». This princess is represented here in a form unusual in Egyptian art : the figure is slender, the breast protruding and the hair, tied just above the middle of the head, rises up and falls down behind. On the right side of the offering table is the sign of «thousand» and below are those of «bread and beer, oxen and fowl». The figure of Mentuhotp and the accompanying inscription are partly effaced, but enough is preserved to give the style of the representation as well as his rank, especially in the light of inscriptions of the other parts of the stela, Mentuhotp is shown sitting on a stool, wearing a wig and a long garment, the left arm turned to the chest and the right one extending towards the offering table. Of the inscription referring to the man the only visible signs are : «The favoured through the great god, the hereditary prince . . . [2] . . . the divine father and the prophet . . .».

The remaining inscriptions on this side of the stela provide considerable information about the position and rank of the owner, even though much has been effaced. Firstly the inscription underneath is formed of several horizontal lines, but of these we have only the end of the

first two lines. These read : « . . . the great one in the towns of the East, [2] . . . the acquaintance of the king». At the very bottom of the stela, left corner, there is an effaced space, with what looks like a rectangle

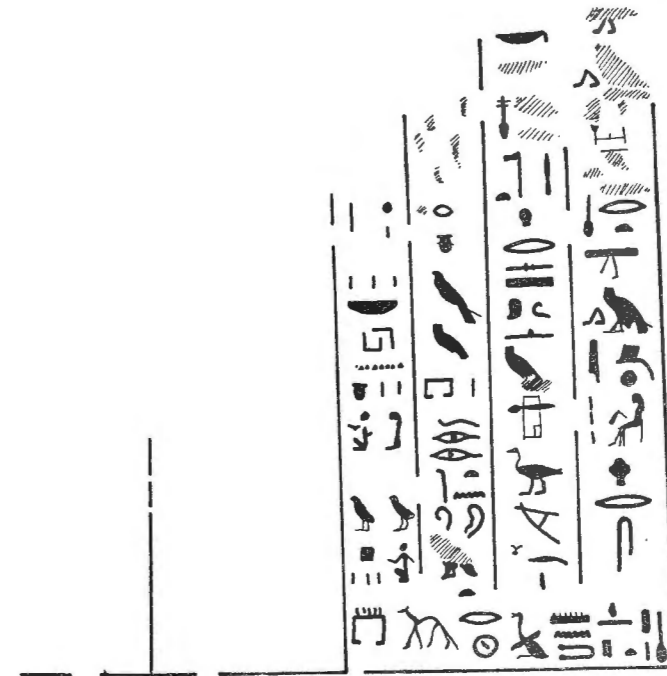


Fig. 76. — Cairo Stela of Mentuhotp, main face, lower part.

(fig. 76). Opposite are the lower parts of four columns of an inscription, continued with a horizontal one. This reads : « . . . lord of jubilation (?). [2] . . . the one who fills the heart of Horus (i.e. the king) in his house, the two eyes of the king of Upper Egypt and the two ears of the king of Lower Egypt, [3] . . . beautiful, the divine father and prophet, the one who is over the secrets of the Great Mansion of Geb, his beloved [4] . . . that he may walk on the beautiful roads in which the blessed walk, [5] (namely) the one of the curtain, the judge, the mouth of Hieraconpolis, the vizier Mentuhotp, the blessed».

The decoration of the other side of the stela is almost completely effaced, except for a fragment at the top (fig. 77). On the round top

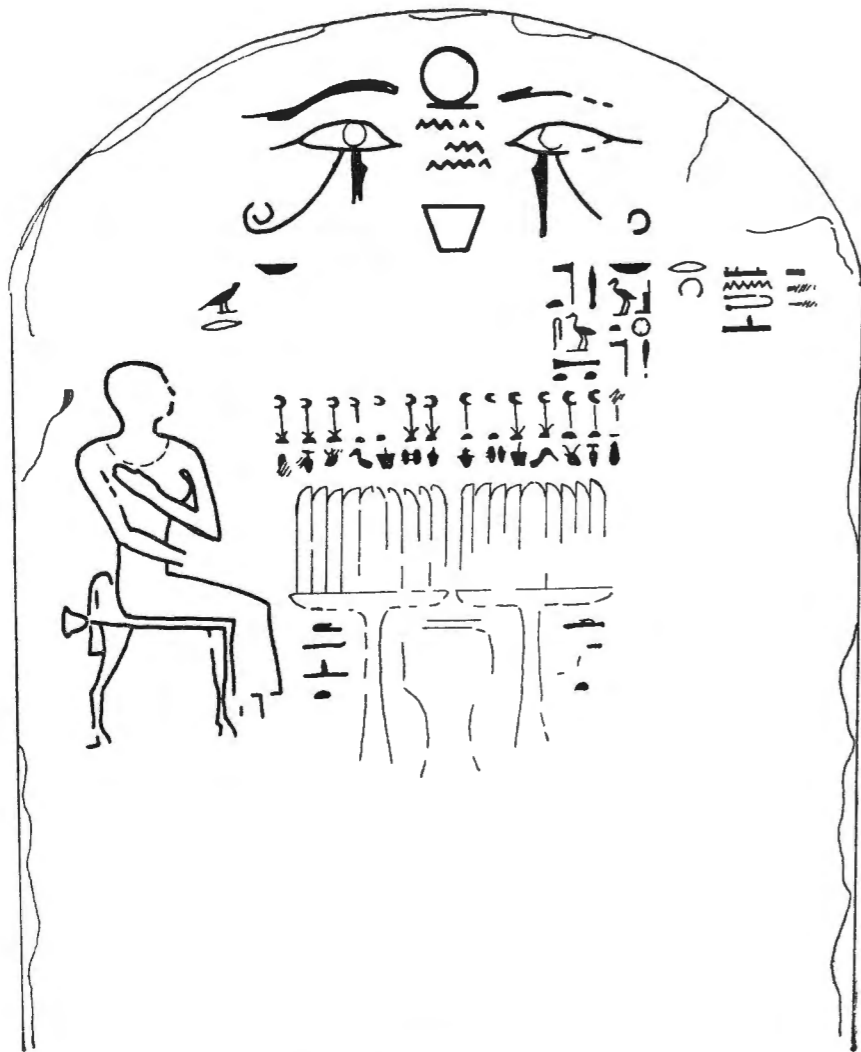


Fig. 77. — Cairo Stela of Mentuhotp, back side.

are engraved two *wꜥt*-eyes, between which is the *ḥn*-sign under which is a vase with the sign for water above. Below was the principal scene, originally showing this time Mentuhotp on the right facing his wife with two offering tables between them. The figure of the owner is totally effaced, but luckily the accompanying inscription is almost preserved. This reads : «*The divine father and prophet, [2] the prophet*

of Bastet, mistress of Bubastis, [3] the mouth of Hieraconpolis, (the chief of the town and the vizier), [4] Mentuhotp, the blessed, lord of favour». Under each of the two offering tables are the words : *Dbꜥt-ḥtp* «funerary meal»; and above the words : «*A thousand of bread, a thousand of vases of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of ointment vases, a thousand of milk vases, and a thousand of wine vases*». These are supposed to form the funerary meal mentioned under the offering tables. Underneath, between the two tables, is an object which appears to be a big pot put upside down.

The figure of the wife is hardly damaged. It shows her in the same attitude and dress as that shown on the other side, only the left hand is turned towards the chest and the right one is extended towards the offering table. But of the accompanying inscription, there are only a few signs, of which enough is preserved to show that she is spoken of as «*the great wife*».

It may be asked why most of the decoration on both sides is effaced : was it due to the fact that the owner and his wife were persecuted, or was it due to the damage inflicted through the dampness or the passage of time? It is to be noticed that on one face the figure of the owner is somewhat effaced, while on the other it is totally invisible, though his titles are undamaged. That the damage is noticed on the side of both faces of the stela, where the figure of the owner is depicted, seems to denote that this side was inflicted by some natural reason like dampness, and not due to human agency.

According to the inscription on the scarab of the Pushkin Museum (referred to here by the letter A) and those of the stela of the Cairo Museum (referred to by letter B), Mentuhotp bears the following titles :

- (1) *Rꜥ't* «the noble» B
- (2) *Ḥty-* «the governor» A
- (3) a, *Wr m niwt iꜥbt* «the great one in towns of the East» B;
b, *Wr iꜥb(tt)* «the great one of the East» A
- (4) *'It-nꜥr ḥm nꜥr* «the divine father and prophet» A and B
- (5) *Ḥm Ḥrw* «the prophet of Horus» A

- (6) *Hm-ntr B:stt nb(t) B:st* «the prophet of Bastet, mistress of Bubastis» B
 (7) *T:tytj s:b r Nhn* «the one of the curtain, the judge and the mouth of Hieraconpolis» B
 (8) *Mr niwt* «the chief of the town», A and B
 (9) *T:ty* «the vizier» A and B.

Most of these titles were given to viziers. Still it may be worthwhile to speak of the third title and its variant, these being quite unusual. Some viziers were given the title «Viziers of Upper and Lower Egypt», but here Mentuhotp is described on the stela as «The great one in the towns of the East». The quite similar title inscribed on the scarab, being previously unattested, the sign *wr* written thereupon, was taken by Hodzhash as an independent title meaning «The great» and the sign *ib(tt)* was altogether overlooked by her. But in the light of the title on the stela, the scarab inscription can be rendered as «The great one of the East»⁽¹⁾.

It is known that this part of Egypt had always a strategic importance : an importance which took on a particular significance in the struggle between Egypt and its powerful eastern neighbours in the Late Period. Our Mentuhotp bore also the title «Prophet of Bastet, mistress of Bubastis». This title may be particularly significant, in as much as it refers to a relationship with this goddess in her main centre of worship in the eastern part of the Delta. The epithet of the vizier as being «One over the secrets of the Great Mansion of Geb» may connect Mentuhotp with Heliopolis, bringing him again into interests involving the eastern regions of Egypt's sovereignty. The temple of Heliopolis is sometimes referred to as the «Great Mansion», while the god Geb was worshipped among the gods of this town⁽²⁾. Amenardais seems also

⁽¹⁾ Such a title is not attested before, but here *wr* means the «great one», as in the well-known titles of *wr m:w* «the great of the seers», GARDINER, *Ancient Onomastica*, A 118 and *wr hrp hmwt* «the great who controls the artificiers», *ibid.*, A 119.

⁽²⁾ For the title, see *ibid.*, I, 32 and for the cult of the god *RÄRG* 201 ff., cf. 203.

to be related to this town. She is referred to as the favoured through Hathor Nebthotep, one of the main deities there⁽¹⁾.

The wife of Mentuhotp was quite distinguished, and perhaps it was due to her that her husband obtained his prominent position. She was a king's daughter, to whom was given the distinguished name of Amenardais and were even given titles and epithets usually accorded to queens as *rp'tt* «the hereditary princess»⁽²⁾, *wrt ibmt* «great of charm», and *wrt hswt* «great of praise»⁽³⁾. But who was this princess to whom was given such consideration?

The style of the relief of this lady may be attributed safely to the Kushite occupation of the XXVth Dynasty, her slender body, with the prominent breast and the curiously raised hair are characteristic of this period⁽⁴⁾. Again her name and titles would relate her to one of the kings of that dynasty. We know of two princesses of this name, the first Amenardais the Elder, daughter of Kashta, and the second Amenardais the Younger, daughter of Taharqa. The first is the well-known divine adoratrice, who played an important role in the Kushite Period, and of whose career until the end of her life we know a great deal, thanks to the numerous monuments she left in the Theban area. Of the younger Amenardais

⁽¹⁾ This goddess was encountered in many places but more often in Heliopolis, see J. VANDIER, «Iousas et (Hathor)-Nebt-Hetepet», in *RdE* 16 [1964], 57 ff., cf. 61 ff. and 17, 141 ff., cf. 150 ff.

⁽²⁾ Gardiner A 72. As it has been noted there, Hatshepsut is described as *rp'tt*, or «hereditary princess» (*Urk.* IV, 224 : 10).

⁽³⁾ For *wrt ibmt*, see *Wb.* I, 80, 6 and *wrt hswt*, *Wb.* III, 158, 6, showing that these epithets were used for queens.

⁽⁴⁾ This sort of representation is not attested for any female, whether royal or just individual in Egyptian art. Again it may be said that the style of representing her husband is also different from that used in Egyptian art, the thick body and neck is more noticed in representation of men in the Kushite period. It should be added that from the Napatan and Meroitic Period several examples of this unusual hair-dress are known : 1. Loose blocks from Temple T at Kawa (MACADAM, *Kawa* II, pl. LXIV e, f-g) — 2. Temple B 700 of Atlanersa and Senkamanisken (GRIFFITH, *JEA* 15 [1929], 26 ff., pl. V) — 3. Shrine of Aspelta at Sanam (GRIFFITH, *LAAA* 9, pl. XLV) — 4. Pyramid chapel of King Ergamenes I, North wall (Beg. N 7, see *LD*, V, 35 f.).

not much is known. In J. Leclant's comprehensive study «Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e dynastie dite Ethiopienne», the French scholar speaks about this princess in one place as : «On pensait qu'Aménirdis, fille de Taharqa, n'avait pas exercé réellement les fonctions de Divine Adoratrice. En effet, on ne connaît d'elle aucun cartouche d'intronisation. L'on pouvait supposer qu'elle ne fut pas à proprement parler intronisée, puisque sa mère, Chepenoupet, alors en fonction, adopta Nitocris, semble-t-il, en ses lieu et place»⁽¹⁾. In a second place he says : «Certes Aménirdis la Jeune ne joue qu'un rôle très secondaire auprès de Chepenoupet; elle n'apparaît nulle part ailleurs sur les blocs qui nous ont été conservés, alors que sa mère est onze fois nommée : dans la célébration de la fête Sed, Chepenoupet est seule»⁽²⁾.

From all these facts we may be entitled to assume that Amenardais the Younger, had a career different from those who devoted themselves to the cult of Amenre. In this case, it can be said, that Taharqa, believing that his situation was safe in the Theban area with the Kushite princesses occupying the important post of divine adoratrice, had his daughter married to a man who could guarantee the safety of his position in the eastern part of the Delta, which was strategically important, owing to his struggle with the Assyrians⁽³⁾.

Nothing is known about the career of Mentuhotp before and after his appointment as vizier and his marriage to Taharqa's daughter. Obviously he should have been a personality of some substance to be

⁽¹⁾ P. 364. In a footnote given by Leclant to this statement, he quotes Moret, Lichtheim, and Buttles as assuring that Amenardais the Younger was never appointed as divine adoratrice, see footnote 2.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, 365.

⁽³⁾ It has to be noted that the nomarchs of Athribis were against the Assyrians. It is known that Bakennifi, nomarch of that nome was taken with many nomarchs of Lower Egypt to Nineveh, but was not returned to his position, neither was his son appointed to his place. It was Psammetik, son of Necho, nomarch of Sais, who replaced him, see Labib HABACHI, «A Statue of Bakennifi, Nomarch of Athribis during the Invasion of Egypt by Assurbanipal», in *MDAIK* 15 [1957], 68 ff., cf. 77.

given such consideration. There is a pair statue in black granite, of which one part is in the Louvre⁽¹⁾ and a second in the Egyptian Museum in Berlin⁽²⁾. One of the persons represented is unknown, but the other is the prophet and high priest of Athribis, Mentuhotp. The preserved parts of the pair statue show an archaising style recalling the Middle Kingdom, but it is undoubtedly from the XXVth Dynasty. Most probably Mentuhotp shown in this group is the same who was promoted to the important post of a vizier and had the honour of becoming the son-in-law of the Kushite king Taharqa.

It remains to find out the probable provenance of this stela. We have seen above how in the surviving inscriptions on the stela Mentuhotp was styled «*prophet of Bastet, mistress of Bubastis*», thus showing his connection with that goddess. But in another place he is spoken of as «*the divine father and prophet, the one who is over the secrets of the Great Mansion of Geb*». As we have seen above, the Great Mansion was given as a name of the temple of Heliopolis, where Geb was worshipped among the gods in consideration in this important religious centre. We have also to remember that his wife Amenardais was spoken of as «*the favoured through Nebhotep*», a goddess who had her main centre of worship in Heliopolis. Most probably then that the stela was once standing in this last town, and that Mentuhotp had the honorary title of the prophet of Bastet in Bubastis (above p. 254) which once formed with the Heliopolitan nome one single nome.

⁽¹⁾ A 49, see BOREUX, *Guide Sommaire, Musée du Louvre* II, 481 f.

⁽²⁾ This is the right half of the pair, given No. 8803, *Notices des monuments* (1885) 30 and *Ausf. Verz.* 83.

CHAPTER XV

PSAMMÉTIQUE II DANS LA RÉGION DE LA PREMIÈRE CATARACTE

ACTIVITÉ DES ROIS SAÏTES DANS LA RÉGION DE LA PREMIÈRE CATARACTE.

Parmi les centaines d'inscriptions gravées sur les rocs d'Assouan et de son voisinage, et les dizaines d'objets découverts dans cette région, il n'y en a que très peu qui concernent les rois et les personnages de la période Saïte. Tout ce que les rois ont laissé dans cette région comme inscriptions rupestres sont simplement leurs cartouches; parfois la nomenclature seule est gravée, parfois elle est suivie de phrases décrivant les souverains comme bien-aimés des divinités locales; toutes ces inscriptions se trouvent dans les endroits les plus visibles des grandes îles de la région.

Dans l'île de Konosse on voit les cartouches des rois Psammétique II et Apriès taillés en grands signes sur le roc le plus haut de l'île ⁽¹⁾. A l'île voisine de Bigeh on trouve les mêmes cartouches avec ceux d'Amasis, eux aussi gravés ⁽²⁾. Amasis inscrit à Siheil et à Eléphantine son nom d'Horus à côté de ses cartouches précédé par les épithètes habituelles et suivi par les mots le décrivant comme le bien-aimé de la triade de la Cataracte ⁽³⁾. A Eléphantine on trouve deux autres inscriptions de Psammétique II gravées sur le roc, au pied du quai qui précède le temple de Khnum. L'une dit : «*Horus 'Menekhib', [2] roi de la Haute et Basse Egypte 'Neferibre', [3] fils de Re 'Psammétique', [4] vivant comment Re*

⁽¹⁾ B. PORTER - R. MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, V, 1937, p. 254.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 256 (6B, 4B, 3B).

⁽³⁾ Pour celle d'Eléphantine, voir *ibid.*, p. 226, et pour celle de Siheil, *ibid.*, p. 252 (80).



Fig. 78.

toujours» (fig. 78). L'autre, un peu plus grand, se lit : «Horus 'Menekhib', les Deux Maîtresses 'User'a', l'Horus d'Or 'Senefertau', [2] le roi de la Haute et Basse Egypte 'Neferibre', fils de Re 'Psammétique', vivant pour toujours et aimé de Khnum, seigneur de la Cataracte»⁽¹⁾ (fig. 79).

Il semble qu'aucun des rois saïtes n'éleva un monument dans cette région, excepté Amasis à qui l'on doit le vestibule d'un temple à Eléphantine. De ce vestibule il ne reste que quelques colonnes à seize pans portant le nom de ce roi et le nommant comme aimé des membres du panthéon de la région⁽²⁾. Les objets datant de la période saïte sont assez rares, mais particulièrement importants, puisqu'ils nous rappellent les difficultés surmontées par les souverains de cette période. Le seul objet individuel qu'on peut dater avec certitude de cette époque est une statue représentant un homme agenouillé et tenant les statuette de la triade de la région. Cette statue appartient au surveillant de la Porte du Sud, Neshor, surnommé Psammétique-Menekhib.

Sur la statue il y a une inscription qui relate une mutinerie des troupes d'Eléphantine qui eut lieu durant la XXVI^e dynastie⁽³⁾. Une stèle assez importante et datant du premier an de règne d'Amasis provient de cet endroit. Elle a été trouvée le siècle dernier remployée comme seuil de porte du palais autrefois habité par le Général Kléber près du Jardin d'Ezbekiyeh au Caire. Plus tard, elle a été ajoutée à la collection du Musée du Caire (JELÍNKOVA-REYMOND, *ASAE*, 54 [1956], pp. 263 s.).

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁽²⁾ Labib HABACHI dans *MDAIK*, 24 (1969), p. 182 et fig. 9. Là on voit qu'il est décrit comme le bien-aimé par la déesse Miket, (p. 217 plus haut).

⁽³⁾ Louvre A. 90; B. PORTER - R. MOSS, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 243 ss.



Fig. 79.

Malheureusement le texte inscrit sur cette stèle est à moitié mutilé; il relate le conflit qui opposa Amasis et son prédécesseur, le roi Apriès et qui se termina par la défaite et la mort de ce dernier roi⁽⁴⁾.

STÈLES QUI COMMÉMORANT LE SOUVENIR DE LA CAMPAGNE DE PSAMMÉTIQUE II EN PAYS DE KOUSH.

Plus importante est la stèle énorme, en granit rouge, de Psammétique II découverte le 2 juillet 1964 à Shellal et placée actuellement près du temple de Kalabsha dans son nouveau site, pas loin du Haut Barrage. De cette stèle, le Dr. H.S. Bakry donna des vues et facsimilés ainsi que la traduction et les commentaires des inscriptions, dans le volume No. VI de ce périodique⁽²⁾. L'importance de cette stèle vient du fait qu'elle nous donne, pour la première fois, un compte rendu complet de la campagne entreprise par le roi contre les Kushites, l'an 3 de son règne. Une mauvaise copie, dont la plus grande partie est détruite, avait déjà été trouvée à Karnak, sanctuaire national de l'Égypte pharaonique, et une autre assez semblable à Tanis qui était un centre assez important à la période saïte⁽³⁾. Il est probable que d'autres endroits, comme Saïs, qui fut la capitale, durant cette période, et Memphis, important centre religieux, doivent receler d'autres copies semblables de la même stèle.

La stèle publiée par Bakry fut trouvée alors que les ouvriers prenaient du sable pour l'érection du Haut Barrage. Mais Bakry n'indique pas, d'une façon précise, l'endroit où la stèle fut déterrée. Je me souviens cependant d'avoir vu la dite stèle à sa place initiale, quelques jours après sa découverte. Elle se trouvait à l'ouest du chemin de fer reliant Shellal à Assouan et au nord des carrières de Shellal⁽⁴⁾. Cependant on ne connaît pas dans cet endroit de construction antique, pas même

⁽¹⁾ B. PORTER - R. MOSS, *op. cit.*, IV, 1934, p. 71.

⁽²⁾ 1967, pp. 225 ss. et pls. LVI-LIX.

⁽³⁾ S. SAUNERON et J. YOYOTTE dans *BIFAO*, 50 (1952), pp. 57 ss.

⁽⁴⁾ Pour ces carrières, voir DE MORGAN et alii, *Cat. des mon. et inscr.*, I, 1894, pp. 58 ss.

un temple ou une chapelle qui pourrait alors justifier la présence de cette stèle. Quelle fut donc la raison de l'érection de cette stèle dans un endroit pareil?

Nous pouvons trouver une réponse à cette question dans le texte qui se trouve sur la partie supérieure d'une stèle vue et copiée par Lepsius⁽¹⁾ et autres épigraphistes, il y a presque un siècle et demi, et qui fut ensuite perdue de vue pour être retrouvée, il y a plus de 60 ans, par Arthur Weigall. Dans *A Report on Some Objects Recently Found in Sebakh and Other Diggings*, le savant anglais en parle en ces termes : «During some works which were being carried on by the Railways Administration at Shellal, the upper part of a large pink granite stèle was unearthed, and was placed at Shellal Station ... As the object was too heavy to be easily transported to the local magazine, I arranged that it should be conveyed across to Philae by boat, where it now rests»⁽²⁾. Plus tard elle fut finalement transférée au Musée du Caire où elle est placée devant la façade.

Ici nous donnons un facsimilé de son inscription (fig. 80, texte A), ainsi que de la partie supérieure de la stèle récemment découverte (fig. 81, texte B). Il faut avouer que les dimensions sont à peu près les mêmes. Bakry considère la largeur de la stèle comme étant 123-122,5 cm. et son épaisseur 68 cm.; quant à celle du Caire, elle a 120 cm. de large et 70 cm. d'épaisseur; la hauteur de celle-ci est 76 cm.; elle s'adapte avec celle de la partie correspondante de l'autre.

La décoration des deux parties est exactement la même, excepté pour une épithète du dieu Khnum. Sur le haut il y a un disque solaire ailé ayant, sur les deux côtés, un uraeus tenant le signe *šn*; les ailes prenant la forme de la rondeur du sommet de la stèle. Au-dessous du disque solaire, il y a deux inscriptions; celle de droite (du spectateur) dit : «Celui de Behdet, le grand dieu, seigneur du ciel»⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Nubien*, III, 1842-1845, 274 d, cf. *Texte*, IV, p. 122.

⁽²⁾ *ASAE*, 8 (1907), p. 39.

⁽³⁾ Le mot *pt* «ciel» est copié comme *îst* «tertre» par WEIGALL, *op. cit.*

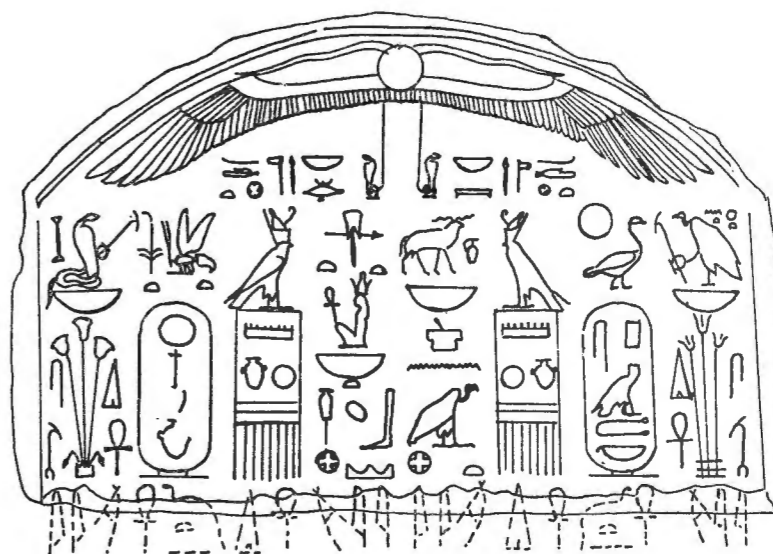


Fig. 80.

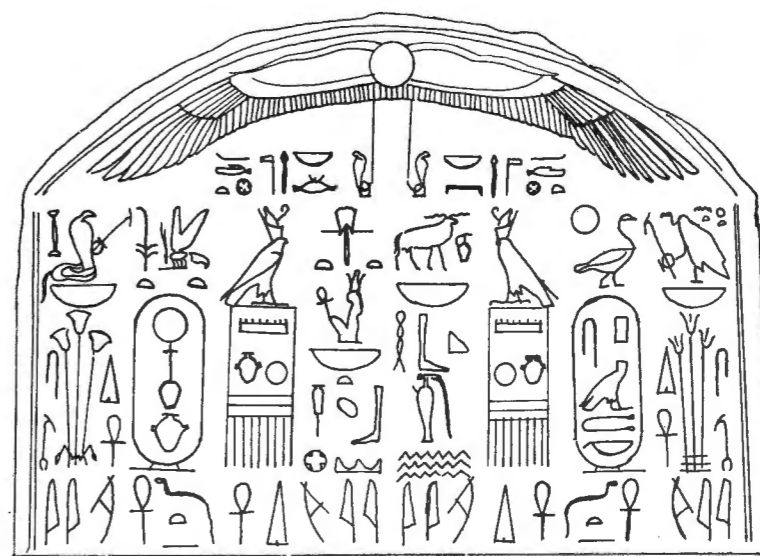


Fig. 81.

et celle de gauche est lue : «*Celui de Behdet, le grand dieu, seigneur de Mesen*»⁽¹⁾.

Au-dessous il y a 8 colonnes d'inscriptions, chaque deux faisant face à deux autres. Au milieu à droite on lit : «*Horus 'Menekh'ib', donnant la vie, [2] aimé de Khnum, seigneur de la région de la Cataracte*». Khnum a ce titre sur B, mais sur A il est décrit comme seigneur de Senmet ou de l'île de Begeh ; c'est la seule différence dans toute la décoration des parties supérieures des deux stèles. En face, le nom de Horus est décrit comme «*aimé de Satis, maîtresse d'Éléphantine*». A la fin, sur la gauche, il y a un uraeus debout sur un panier, perché sur un bouquet de papyrus, près de son corps il y a le signe *sn*, dans lequel on trouve le sceptre *w's* dirigé vers le prénom du roi. Les deux colonnes d'inscriptions disent : «*Roi de la Haute et Basse Égypte 'Neferibre' vivant pour toujours, [2] aimé de Edjo, elle donne vie et pouvoir*». Sur l'autre côté se trouve le vautour assis sur un panier placé sur un bouquet de lotus, et tenant le signe *sn* et dirigeant le sceptre *w's* cette fois vers le nom du roi. Ici l'inscription se lit : «*Le fils de Re 'Psammétique', vivant pour toujours, [2] aimé de Nakhabit*⁽²⁾, elle donne vie et pouvoir».

Comme Weigall le note, le fragment qu'il publie «*was originally made to fit on to the lower part of the stele, for there is no sign of breakage, the under surface being smooth and straight*»⁽³⁾. Le matériel, les dimensions et décorations étant les mêmes que ceux de la stèle complète trouvée à la même place, il est clair donc que le fragment en question était la partie supérieure d'une stèle qui commémore le souvenir de la

⁽¹⁾ Le mot *Msn* est considéré comme illisible par WEIGALL, *ibid.*, et copié comme le signe *pt* «ciel» par BAKRY, *op. cit.*

⁽²⁾ Derrière le vautour sont des signes, désignant la déesse qu'il représente. Ces signes, omis par Bakry, sont traduits par lui comme «Nekhabit du Sud», mais ils doivent donner le nom de la déesse ou une de ses épithètes. Ils peuvent se lire *Nt Nhn* «Celle de Hieraconpolis», autant qu'elle est souvent attachée à cette ville.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.* Nous ne savons qu'une stèle, ou d'un roi ou d'un individu, puisse être de deux pièces. Mais on ne peut pas croire qu'une stèle dépendante puisse avoir une décoration pareille. On peut suggérer que la stèle originale était cassée, et qu'on a utilisé une partie qu'il faut compléter par une autre.

campagne de l'an 3 de Psammétique II contre les Kushites. Mais on peut se demander de nouveau pourquoi deux stèles presque semblables, toutes deux parlant sûrement de la même campagne, ont été érigées dans une place aussi isolée que Shellal. Pour répondre à cette question, nous devons aller tout au nord jusqu'à Dahshour.

ROUTES DE L'ÉGYPTE ANCIENNE.

A la fin du siècle dernier, Sir Flinders Petrie a remarqué l'existence de deux routes venant de Mastabet Fara'un, l'une se dirigeant vers l'oasis d'Amon (Siwa), et l'autre vers le Fayoum. Pour ce qui en est de la première route, il trouva des lignes de gravier sur les côtés, et des pièces en calcaire d'une place à l'autre, quelques-unes marquant peut-être la présence d'une station. Quant à la seconde route, qui semble la plus importante, elle suit la direction du sud. Petrie fut capable de la suivre pour 10 km. et d'indiquer sur le plan l'existence du commencement de la route par la présence d'une guérite suivie, à distances presque régulières, par des bornes ouvertes vers le haut où venaient s'emboîter des piliers qui indiquaient 1000 coudées ou des stèles qui indiquaient 12.000 coudées ou encore un schoinos romain. De ces dernières il en trouva deux malheureusement détruites sans aucune trace d'inscriptions⁽¹⁾.

En 1956 mon collègue Ragheb Ibrahim, alors en charge comme inspecteur des antiquités de Giza, trouva une stèle presque complète qui a été publiée avec deux autres, pas aussi bien conservées, par Goedicke⁽²⁾. Ces deux dernières stèles furent découvertes par Munir Basta avec quatre autres, et ont été publiées, plus tard, par lui. Les textes trouvés sur les stèles sont différents, il semble même que quelques stèles se complètent, mais toutes parlent d'une bataille de l'an II du

⁽¹⁾ *A Season in Egypt*, 1888, pp. 35 ss. et pl. XXVI.

⁽²⁾ «Psammetik I. und die Libyer», *MDAIK*, 18 (1962), pp. 26 ss. C'est mon collègue Ragheb Ibrahim qui a été le premier à remarquer l'existence de cette route et qui a trouvé la stèle la plus complète publiée par GOEDICKE, *ibid.*, pp. 33 ss. et pl. I.

règne de Psammétique I contre les Libyens qu'il vainquit⁽¹⁾. De tout cela, il est clair que Psammétique I, après avoir gagné la bataille, érigea ces stèles au bord d'une route se dirigeant vers la Libye, peut-être même à travers les oasis. Comme fondateur de la XXVI^e dynastie, il semble avoir eu besoin de publicité pour gagner la confiance de ses sujets en Egypte et aux environs, après la période troublée de la XXV^e dynastie marquée par les conflits avec les Kushites et les Assyriens et même entre les Egyptiens.

Psammétique II avait une haine mortelle pour les Kushites dont il effaça les noms, spécialement ceux de Taharqa⁽²⁾. Comme nous avons déjà dit, après sa victoire sur les Kushites, il érigea des stèles, une à Karnak, l'autre à Tanis, et deux autres à Shellal. Ces deux dernières stèles, placées dans un endroit aussi isolé, nous incitent à croire qu'elles marquaient le commencement d'une route qui se dirigeait vers le Sud. Dans ce cas le roi semble avoir décoré le commencement de la route que son armée a prise pour vaincre les Kushites, comme son grand-père fit quand il vainquit les Libyens. Mais est-ce seulement ces deux stèles qui furent érigées dans cet endroit? Il se peut qu'il y en ait d'autres près de la place où on a découvert les deux stèles, mais qu'elles soient encore cachées sous le sable qui remplit la place.

Les routes de Shellal et de Dahshour ne sont pas les seules connues en Egypte; il y en avait d'autres prises par les habitants du désert et d'autres pour aller vers des places importantes. Parmi celles que nous connaissons, il y a celle qui commence à un endroit du côté occidental du Nil, en face d'Assouan et allant vers le Sud, appelée «La Route d'Eléphantine», route que suivit un jour Harkhuf dans une de ses

⁽¹⁾ «Excavations in the Desert Road at Dahshur», *ASAE*, 60 (1968), pp. 57 ff. et pls. I-X. Munir Basta et Goedicke disent que la route commence par la pyramide de Pepi II, tandis que Petrie l'indique comme commençant à Mastabet Fara'un. Comme les deux routes ne sont pas loin l'une de l'autre, on peut dire que c'est plutôt Petrie qui a raison, puisque les deux routes n'étaient pas encore démolies de son temps.

⁽²⁾ J. YOYOTTE, *RdE*, 8 (1951), pp. 215-239.

expéditions⁽¹⁾. Pendant l'invasion de l'Egypte, Piankhi mentionne «La Route du (dieu) Sap», prise par l'envahisseur pour arriver à Héliopolis⁽²⁾. A Kalabsha, Roeder a découvert deux stèles rupestres⁽³⁾, et Hintze une troisième, toutes semblables⁽⁴⁾. Elles mentionnent que dans l'an 19 du règne de Taharqa, une route avec le nom de «Route des Taureaux» avait été faite. Vu la turbulence de l'eau et les chemins compliqués tout autour des hauteurs, Taharqa fut obligé pour faciliter l'accès de l'Egypte de préparer cette route. Plusieurs routes partaient de Es-Sebua' et c'est de là que découla un étrange culte pour une certaine forme d'Amun connu comme «Amun des Routes»⁽⁵⁾.

Il nous reste à parler d'un bloc de calcaire 85 × 34 cm. d'Edfou avec une inscription commémorant une campagne faite par un des Psammétiques. Il nous faut voir si cette inscription concerne le second des Psammétiques, racontant son expédition militaire faite la 3^e année de son règne. Ici nous donnons des facsimilés des inscriptions avec une section du bloc où elles furent gravées. Malheureusement une partie du sommet et la grande partie du bas de l'inscription important manquent.

Une des inscriptions devait porter le vautour étendant ses ailes sur toute sa surface, mais aujourd'hui il n'existe plus.

Cette inscription (fig. 82 A) dit : «*Celle de Nekhabit, la blanche de Nekhen, au bras long*». En bas l'inscription de trois colonnes se lit : «*Parole d'Amenrê, seigneur des Trônes-des-Deux-Terres, pré-éminent du (Karnak) ... [2] 'Je suis votre père qui unit votre beauté, Je donne ...*

⁽¹⁾ Harkhuf a suivi cette route dans son deuxième voyage à Iam, *Urk.* I, 125, ligne 1. Il parle dans son troisième voyage de route de l'Oasis, *ibid.*, ligne 14. Fakhry dans sa publication, *Siwa Oasis*, 1944, p. 27 dit que Siwa a fleuri dans la XXVI^e dynastie et qu'il y avait des routes qui la mettaient en communication avec Memphis et le Fayoum.

⁽²⁾ Stèle de Piankhi datée l'année 21 de son règne, l. 101, voir B. PORTER - R. MOSS, *op. cit.*, VII, 1951, p. 217.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁽⁴⁾ *MIOF*, 7 (1959-60), p. 330 ss.

⁽⁵⁾ L. HABACHI, *Kush*, 8 (1960), p. 52. On voit que cette forme d'Amun est mentionnée sur cinq stèles de cette région; voir *ibid.*, note 30 (p. 195 s. plus haut).

[3] *mon héritage, mon trône, toutes les terres étrangères étant sous (vos) sandales' ».*

L'inscription du côté opposé est plus importante bien qu'elle ne soit pas très claire (fig. 82 B)⁽¹⁾. Elle dit : «... Alors donna ... [2] ...

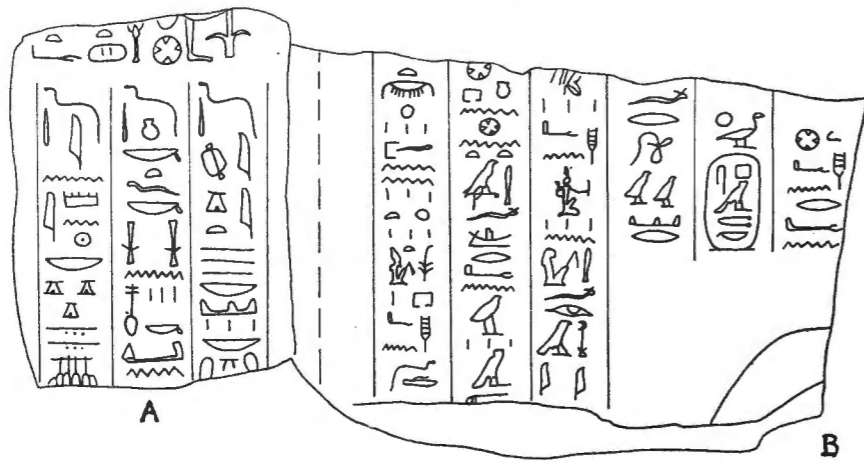


Fig. 82.

(le roi de la Haute et la Basse Egypte) ... , le fils de Re 'Psammétique' [3] ... à Wawat pour ... [4] ... ennemies, alors l'armée de sa majesté fit un massacre ... [5] ... dans l'intérieur (?) de cette ville, sa majesté navigant (?) devant ... [6] ... (argent) et or, nous apportâmes des offrandes du palais du roi. Alors (ils) disent ... ». Tout près, il y a la représentation d'homme dont une partie de perruque est présente. Plusieurs phrases de ce texte sont vagues, mais il concerne sans doute une campagne contre les Nubiens commandée par la personne qui accompagne l'inscription.

Le texte ici est assez différent de celui commémorant la campagne de Psammétique II contre les Kushites. Puisque le troisième des Psammétiques régna pour un court laps de temps et fut entouré de dangers

⁽¹⁾ S. Sauneron et J. Yoyotte se réfèrent à cette inscription dans *BIFAO*, 50 (1950), p. 201, note 3. Il semble qu'une petite partie manque seulement du haut de l'inscription, mais pour le fond, il est probable que plus de trois quarts manquent.

venant de l'Est, que ce soit le premier des Psammétiques dont il s'agit ici?⁽¹⁾. Dans l'inscription de Neshor, appelé Psammétique-Menekhib, où on parle de la mutinerie de la garnison d'Eléphantine, on mentionne, comme dans l'inscription d'Edfou, certains massacres et cadeaux. Cela fait croire que cet homme était l'auteur de l'inscription d'Edfou. Si nos conclusions sont vraies, la mutinerie a eu lieu sous Psammétique I⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ A Edfou on a trouvé des blocs de ce roi, *ibid.*, parmi lesquels il y a un montant de porte, Jour. d'En. Musée du Caire 38977. La présence de ce bloc m'a été signalée par Yoyotte.

⁽²⁾ E. DRIOTON - J. VANDIER, *L'Égypte*, 1962, p. 617, parlent de la statue de cet homme et de la mutinerie, en parlant de Psammétique I, tandis que DE MEULENAERE, *Le surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque*, 1966, p. 14 (42), dit que cet homme a servi Psammétique II, Apriès et Amasis.

CHAPTER XVI

THE OWNERS OF THE ROYAL TOMBS
OF BALLANA AND QUSTUL
APROPOS OF A GRAFFITO IN ES-SARRAG
(EDFU DISTRICT)

THE discovery of the royal tombs of Ballana and Qustul can be considered the most thrilling one ever made in the whole land of Nubia. These tombs, with their wealth of precious funerary equipment, were discovered by Professor W.B. Emery and his assistants. They had been working during the years 1929-1934 in the area from Es-Sebua' to Addindan, which was about to be submerged by the stored water behind the second heightening of the Aswan Dam. In other words, they were engaged in a race with the rapidly rising water.

In his report on the discovery of these tombs, Emery attributed their ownership to the Blemmys⁽¹⁾. In this identification he contradicted scholars, who, long before his important discovery, had suggested that the tombs behind Kalabsha Temple belonged to the same tribe. C.M. Firth, who worked in the Kalabsha area in 1908-1909, describes briefly a cemetery of over 500 tombs of an unusual circular form. Owing to the accounts of early historians, he attributed it to the Blemmyes⁽²⁾. Dr. J. Junker was also of the same opinion⁽³⁾. L.P. Kirwan, who had worked all the time with Emery, disagreed that the Ballana and Qustul

⁽¹⁾ *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul, Mission archéologique de Nubie, 1929-1934, vol. I, 1938, pp. 5 ff.*

⁽²⁾ *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report 1908-1909, vol. I, p. 36 f. and footnote.*

⁽³⁾ *Ermenne, Bericht über die Grabungen, Akademie des Wissenschaften in Wien, 1911-1912, 1925, pp. 50 ff.*

tombs were those of the Blemmyes, but were rather those of the Nabadae, who had occupied the region of Kalabsha-Talmis after having vanquished the Blemmyes⁽¹⁾. Monneret de Villard, the great authority on Nubia, was also of the opinion that the tombs of Ballana and Qustul were those of the Nobadae⁽²⁾.

When Dr. K. Seele, as representative of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, decided to take part in the salvage of the Nubian Monuments, he discussed with me the place where the most promising excavations could be carried out, and in which a temple or a tomb should be recorded. We came to the conclusion that the region between Kalabsha and Tafa would be the most appropriate one for the following reasons: First, it includes the Temple of Beit el-Wali of Ramesses II which was certainly worth recording, being the first temple erected by Ramesses II in Nubia; second, systematic excavation, never hitherto undertaken, would clear the question whether or not it was the abode of the Blemmyes.

Dr. H. Ricke, head of the Schweizerisches Institut für Agyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde, Kairo, was then invited to take part in the important work in this area. He was able to study the architecture of the Temple of Beit el-Wali. The reliefs, inscriptions and decorations of the temple were recorded by the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Luxor⁽³⁾.

With Dr. Ricke, I dug scores of tombs in the area. The most important of these were the six big ones erected around the hill called Gebel Abu Senna, about five hundred metres to the N.W. of the temple. Each of these tombs proved to have been erected within a strong, rounded

⁽¹⁾ «Studies in the History of Nubia», in *AAAL*, No. XXIV, 1937, pp. 69 ff.; «The Ballana Civilization, A Note on the Historical Geography of Lower Nubia», in *Bulletin de la Société Géographique d'Égypte*, No. XXV, 1953, pp. 103 ff.; and «Comments on the Origin and History of the Nobadae of Procopius» in *Kush* VI, 1958, pp. 69 ff.

⁽²⁾ «Le Necropoli di Ballana e di Qustul», in *Orientalia*, vol. 9, 1940, pp. 61 ff.

⁽³⁾ H. RICKE - G. HUGHES - E. WENTE, *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*, 1967.

wall of sandstone, in the middle of which was dug a small chamber, where the body, usually contracted, was placed. Basing his opinion on coins and other objects found in the area, Ricke describes these tombs as those of the chiefs of the Blemmyes, residing in the area in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. until they were finally defeated and driven away by Silko in the middle of the 6th century A.D.⁽¹⁾.

The pottery discovered in the area, though broken and mixed with pottery of a later date, proved to be quite different to that of the X-group. We discovered pottery that was predominantly in the form of small, dark brown or red cups of biscuit ware, decorated with geometrical designs such as incised spots⁽²⁾ (fig. 83). These, as well as the tombs, date to the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., so does a nearby village built of loose blocks and stones⁽³⁾.

In spite of all these discoveries and arguments proving that the Blemmyes resided and were buried in the Kalabsha-Tafa area rather than the Ballana-Qustul area, Emery remained convinced of his first opinion to the end of his life. It is difficult to change the name of a monument from the one given to it by its discoverer, but we hope that in future the tombs under discussion will be called The Royal Tombs of the Nobadae, or the So-called Tombs of the Blemmyes.

Having now reached a conclusion as to the ownership of the Ballana and Qustul tombs, we may turn to a graffito which may have a relation to the people concerned. In the year 1958 my friend Mohamed Sa'd Ed-Din, Inspector of the Pumping Stations of Upper Egypt and Nubia, told me of the existence of a graffito, or rock-drawing, about 4 kms. to the east of Es-Sarrag Railway Station (about 20 kms. to the south of Edfu on the eastern side of the Nile) (fig. 84). I immediately proceeded to the place in company with him and the local engineer of the station in this area. The graffito was engraved on a sandstone boulder (maximum breadth 297 centimetres, and maximum height

⁽¹⁾ H. RICKE et alii, *Augrabungen von Khor Dehmit bis Bet El-Wali*, 1967, p. 41 f.

⁽²⁾ Labib HABACHI in *ibid.*, pp. 46 ff. For those of the Blemmyes, pp. 55 ff., fig. 1 is a reproduction of cups' drawings in the lower of fig. 73.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 33 f. and footnote 97.

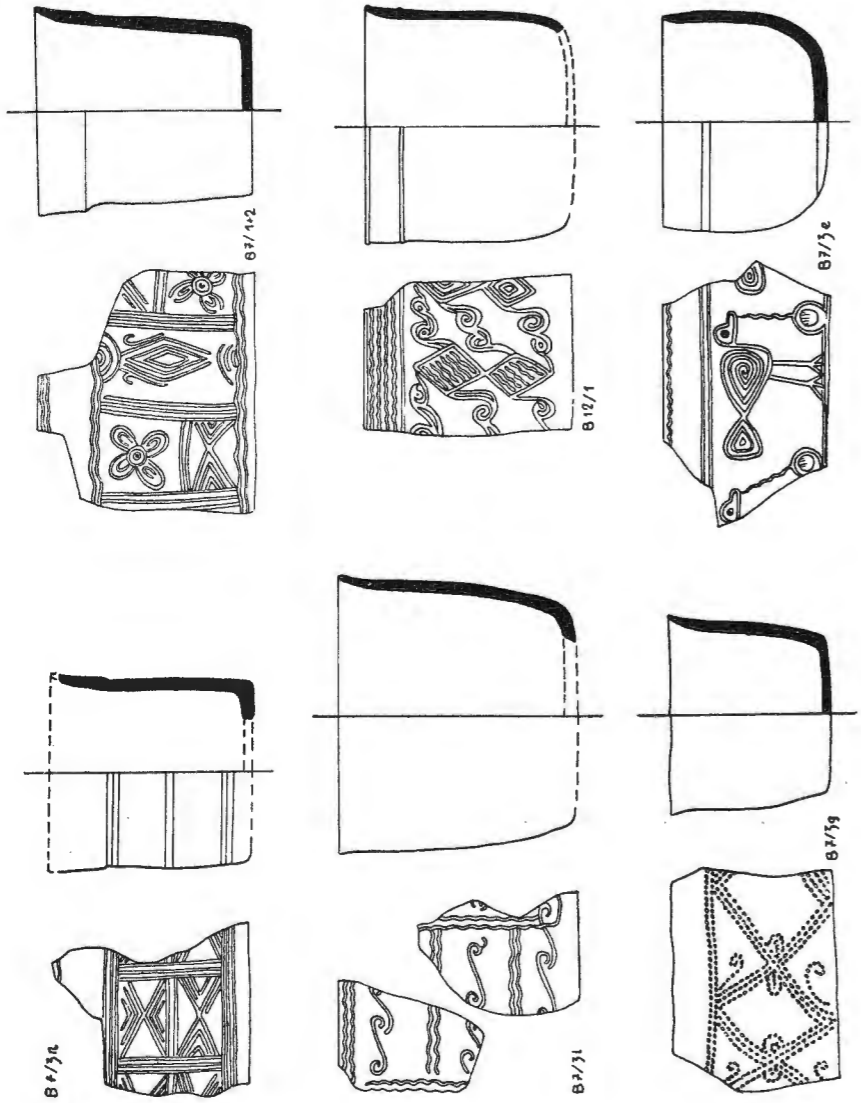


Fig. 83.

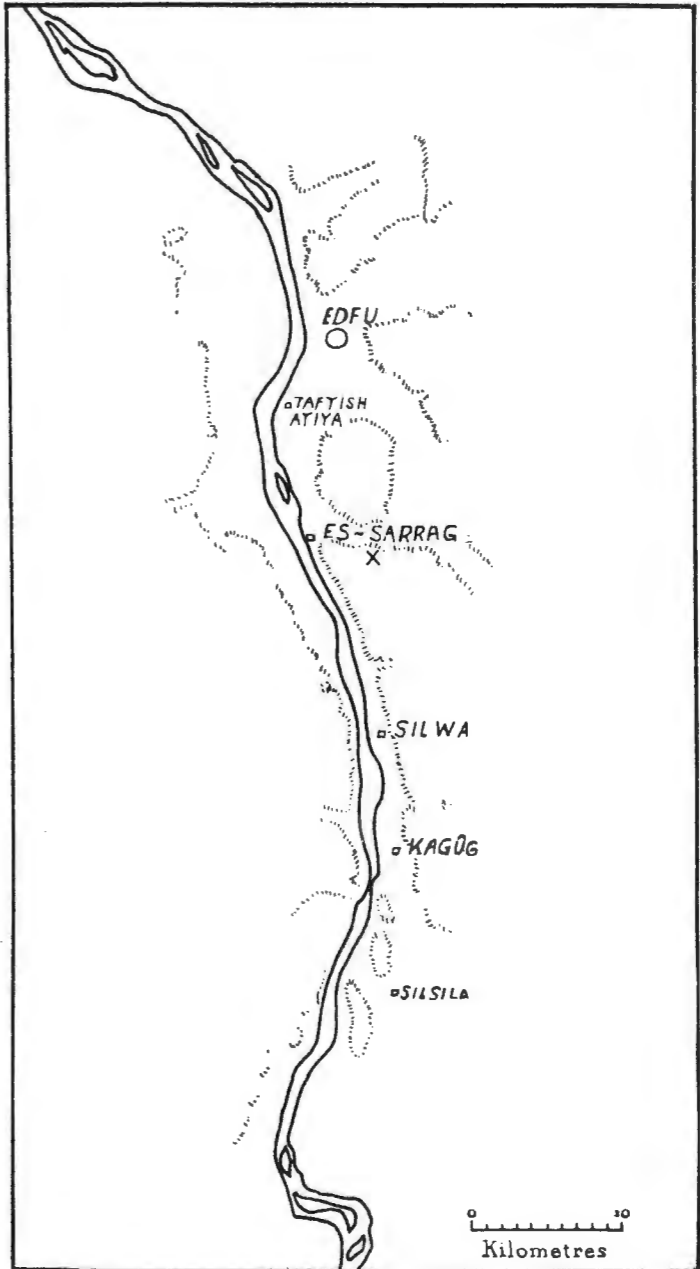


Fig. 84.

150 cms.). The boulder lay in a depression in the cliffs. At the foot of these cliffs were many circular huts built mostly of dry-stone walls, suggesting that they had been made by a primitive people, for a more or less temporary use.

Owing to the unusual representations in the graffito I hesitated some time before publishing it, but now, believing that it was carved by a group of people related to one of the tribes we have spoken of already, I give a photograph and a tracing of its subjects (Pl. III and fig. 85), together with a description of these elements, which are :

1. Three lions (1.2.3)
2. Two dogs (4.5)
3. Three ostriches (6-8)
4. Four statues of hawks (9-12)
5. Four standing persons (13-16)
6. Five persons riding horses (17-21)
7. Five ships, four having men aboard (22-26)
8. Two cows (27, 28)
9. Six rectangular objects on stands (29-34)
10. A riderless horse, a camel, a crocodile (?), two bows and two groups of strokes (35-40).

The central group shows two lions about to fight (1, 2); their forelegs are extended, with the claws exposed, the hindquarters and the tail upraised, their mouths are open, with the tongue out, as though they are snarling. Although the animals are crudely drawn, yet their attitudes are natural and lively.

The third lion (3) is drawn in a similar pose to those we have just described, but on a much smaller scale. In front of it is an ostrich (6). Note the half-spread wings, characteristic of this bird when it is running.

Opposite the ostrich are two dogs (4, 5), whose attitude and open mouth show that they are barking. The whole group seems to represent a lion and two dogs all attacking the ostrich. It is not clear if this group



Fig. 85.

and that of the fighting lions is to be understood symbolically, or if they are actual incidents witnessed by the persons who made the graffito, and who perhaps considered them symbols of victory in battle. We may mention that in the Kalabsha Temple there are scenes which can be approached from others in our graffiti. Thus we have a lion and a hyena about to fight and also a representation of an ostrich⁽¹⁾.

Four hawks are shown in the graffito (9-12). Nos. 9-11 wear the Double Crown, and have offering-tables in front of them, only No. 11 is shown on a much smaller scale. No. 12 wears a double-crown and has its wings upraised. In the temple of Kalabsha there are many graffiti showing hawks wearing the Double Crown (Pl. IV) and some also have offering tables in front of them⁽²⁾.

Altogether seventeen persons are shown in the graffito. Of these, seven are on board ships, and five are on horseback. The largest of the standing persons appears to be wearing a mask in the form of a hawk's head, surmounted by the Double Crown; he wears a kilt, but the upper part of his body is bare, while he carries the branch of a tree (No. 13). From his position in front of the group and the large scale on which he is drawn, we may think that he is a person of some importance either a chief or, a masked priest. Another figure (No. 14) also carries a branch of a tree, and seems to wear a plume on his head. We also see the *wꜣs* scepter, which shows us that, he also, must be a person of some consequence.

The other standing figures all carry what may be sticks or swords, and are very roughly drawn on a smaller scale. No. 15 may be associated with either the two bows (or shields?) (Nos. 38, 39) or the two cows behind them. The very small figure (No. 16) has one arm stretched out before him, and the other one upraised, the hand holding a stick in a threatening attitude. All the people just mentioned face in one direction, but there are two other figures facing in the opposite direction,

⁽¹⁾ For the ostrich, see H. GAUTHIER, *Le Temple de Kalabsha*, p. 268. For the scene with the lion and the hyena, see photo of the Centre of Documentation, No. 6451 (G f3).

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 189, pl. LXV B; p. 193, pl. LXIX B; p. 202, pl. XXII B top.

and are facing the horsemen (Nos. 20, 21). Each carry a stick, and may perhaps be a groom steadying the horses, to allow the riders to dismount, but this would suggest that the riders were somewhat incompetent, moreover, the latter are brandishing swords (or sticks?) in a threatening manner. Perhaps the two groups represent an encounter between the horsemen and an enemy or a would-be robber. The weapon held by the rider in group No. 20 looks like a pick-axe. It might be a double-headed axe, or a bow and arrow, or even an elongated plume on the rider's head. The riders in groups Nos. 19, 21 also have plumes on their heads. The other horsemen (Nos. 17, 18) have no men confronting them. No. 35 is a riderless horse.

In the graffiti of Kalabsha there is only one scene showing a rider on horseback⁽¹⁾ and this is very nicely engraved (Pl. V). But the man entrusted to carve our graffito clearly had more enthusiasm than artistic skill!

Five ships are shown, each in full sail, and all, but one (No. 22), equipped with steering oars. This latter, which is sailing in the opposite direction of the others carries two men, and has a cross X on the stern. Below it is the damaged figure of a reptile, probably a crocodile.

The next boat (No. 23) is very interesting. Amid ships stands a human figure holding the *'nh*, an emblem normally carried only by deities or kings. In front of him is a rectangular structure with a door, projections along its roof, and a pair of horizontal poles at its base. It looks very like a portable shrine, with a frieze of uraei on its roof, and provided with carrying poles. As this is the first of the boats represented as sailing in the same direction as the majority of the other figures, could it perhaps be a ship carrying the statue of a deity, brought along to bring success to the expedition?

The third boat (No. 24) has four men on board. One of these seems to be holding out the steering oar. No persons are visible in the small boat (No. 25). The boat No. 26 has the two steering oars shown, and on deck is a man with a plait or tress of hair hanging from the back of his head. In front of him is another rectangular structure with

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 203 and pl. LXXII B.

carrying-poles, as in the leading boat. It is, of course, possible that these may represent cabins, but they do not resemble the normal cabins shown on ancient Nile boats.

At the top of the scene are the figures of two cows, with long, twisted horns (Nos. 27, 28). Cattle with this type of horn appear in New Kingdom scenes among the tribute brought from Nubia⁽¹⁾. The cow No. 28 has marks like crosses on its fore and hind quarters. These are probably only brands to distinguish the personal or tribal ownership of the animal, and does not mean that the graffito was made by a Christian.

Below the feet of the leading, masked figure is a small representation of a camel (No. 39). This is much better carved than the other figures and may have been made earlier.

In addition to the objects already described there are six representations of what seem to be rectangular baskets or crates supported on stands (Nos. 29-34). It is difficult to see what they are supposed to be. Some of them look something like the modern palm-stick crates containing bags of provisions. Also difficult to explain are the two groups of strokes, one tall stroke with three short strokes in front of it (40, 41). These occur between the two fighting lions, and above the man carrying the branch and *w*'s-scepter. As they occur twice they cannot be dismissed as accidental scratches.

This is a brief description of the figures in the graffito of Es-Sarrag. Now we may ask, who were the people represented, and why was the graffito carved in this particular spot? The presence of horses, cows and dogs remind us of the military people of Ballana and Qustul. In their tombs such animals were sacrificed in order to be at their owner's service in the Other World. These people believed in a life after death, undoubtedly influenced by the beliefs of the Ancient Egyptians⁽²⁾. This influence is also seen in the figures of the crowned hawks with offering-tables in front of them. Though many of the ancient gods were represented as hawks, or hawk-headed men, the fact that those

⁽¹⁾ H. GARDINER in NORMAN DE GARIS DAVIES, *The Tomb of Huy*, 1926, pl. XL, 1.

⁽²⁾ W. EMERY et alii, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul*, vol. I, 1938, p. 25.

in the graffito wear the Double Crown suggest that they are intended to be Horus. The leading male figure in the scene also appears to be wearing the Double Crown. If we also remember that many types of pottery found in the Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul were copied from Egyptian originals⁽¹⁾, we can see that in a way the owners of these tombs were influenced by the Egyptians, though in many ways they were more influenced by the Meroitic customs⁽²⁾.

The group in the middle of the graffito, showing two lions attacking each other, is reminiscent of a bronze incense-burner in the form of a lion attacking a pig, which was found in the Royal Tombs (Cat. No. 802). It seems that similar motifs were numerous at this period, like the two incense-burners in the Louvre, where a lion is shown on a lid attacking a boar; a third found in Epiphanius Monastery, where a lioness (?) is also attacking a boar, and a fourth, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, where a lion is attacking a sow⁽³⁾.

It seems clear, therefore, that this graffito was carved by the Nobadae of Ballana and Qustul. We can hardly expect that all the persons represented came to this spot separately, and were keen to commemorate their stay there by carving a graffito. This may be concluded by the fact that all the figures and objects represented (with the exception of the camel) were clearly carved by the same hand and at the same time. The ships represented were undoubtedly capable of transporting a large number of people. The ruins of the round stone huts may also have been built by these same people. All this suggests that we have a Nobadae army heading for the North, the direction in which most of the figures in the graffito are facing. Two of the standing figures carry a branch of a tree, possibly related to a divinity. The other figures all carry weapons in their hands, which suggests that they are intending to attack and loot some other place.

⁽¹⁾ BRUCE G. TRIGGER, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia*, 1965, p. 133 f.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 132 ff.

⁽³⁾ For the incense burner, 802, see EMERY et alii, *op. cit.*, p. 362, and pl. 96 B. For the remaining incense burners, see p. 169 f.

According to the inscription of Silko in Kalabsha Temple, this king made three campaigns against the Blemmyes, but it was only in the third one that he was able to drive them from their capital and gain the final victory. It is improbable that the army indicated in the graffito came to Es-Sarrag after the final defeat of the Blemmyes⁽¹⁾. The presence of the crowned hawk-gods shows that the Nobadae were not yet converted to Christianity, an event which seems to have occurred before Silko's final victory. Most probably then, this Nobadae expedition reached Es-Sarrag some time between the first and third campaigns of Silko against the Blemmyes, a time when both the Blemmyes and the Nobadae were making raids against Egypt⁽²⁾.

In connection with this hypothesis it may be mentioned that the graffito was carved about the beginning of the Vth century A.D. We may also date most of the graffiti of the Kalabsha Temple to the same period, and as we have shown, there are many points of resemblance between them and the Es-Sarrag graffito.

⁽¹⁾ According to L. CASTIGLIONE, «Diocletiano und die Blemmyes», in *ZÄS*, 96, 1970, pp. 90 ff., the king on horse back in Kalabsha represents Silko killing a Blemme. I owe this reference to G. Haeny.

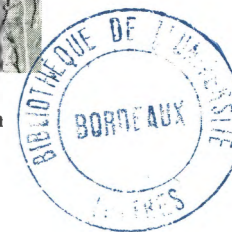
⁽²⁾ See L.P. KIRWAN, «Studies in Later History of Nubia», in *LAAA*, XXIV, 1937, pp. 69 ff., 81 ff.



A. — Façade of tombs of Heqaib and Sabni (p. 13).



B. — Scene from Sabni's tomb with the mention of the transportation of two big obelisks (p. 20).



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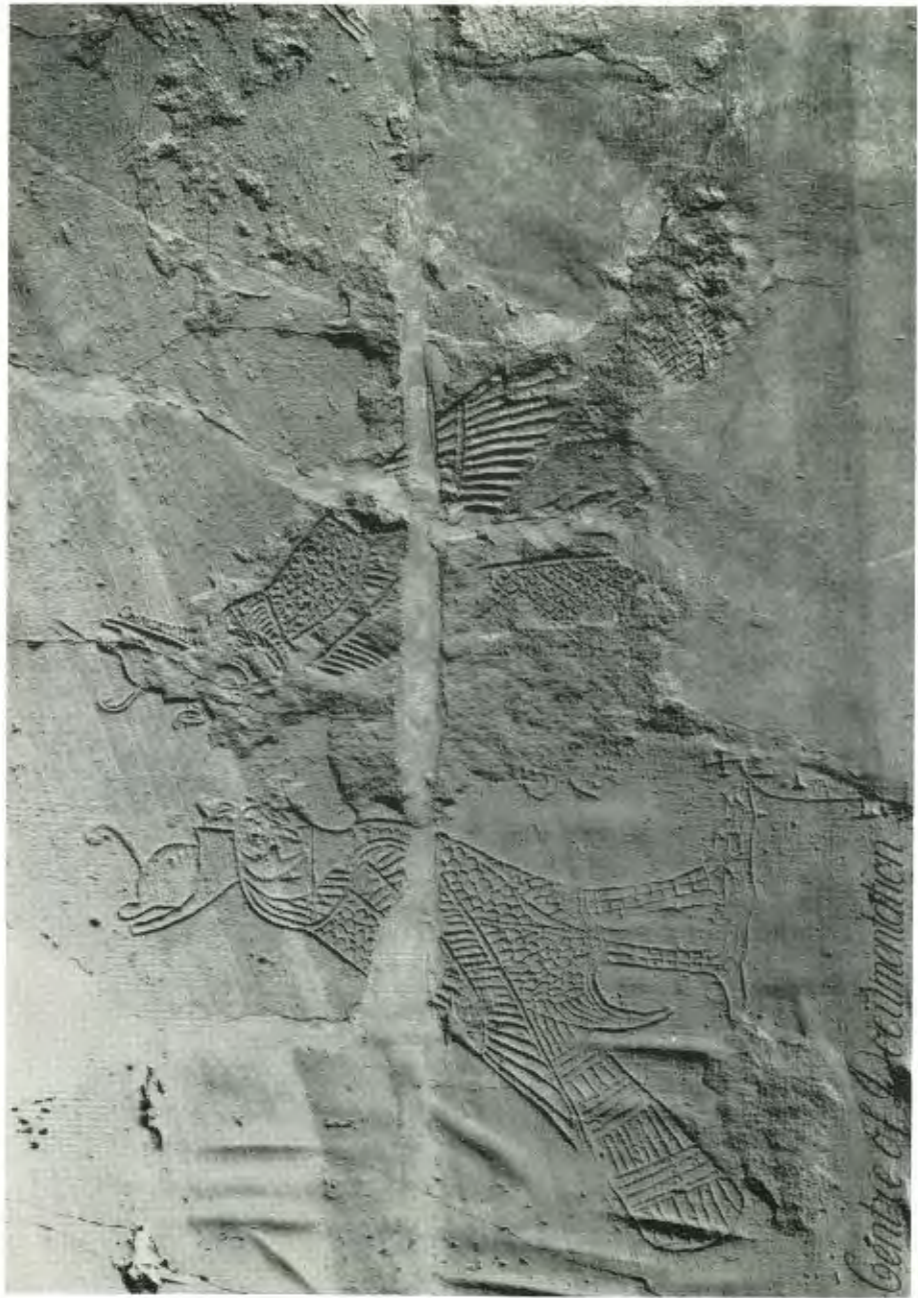


View of the block from Sai Island mentioning several viceroys (p. 139).

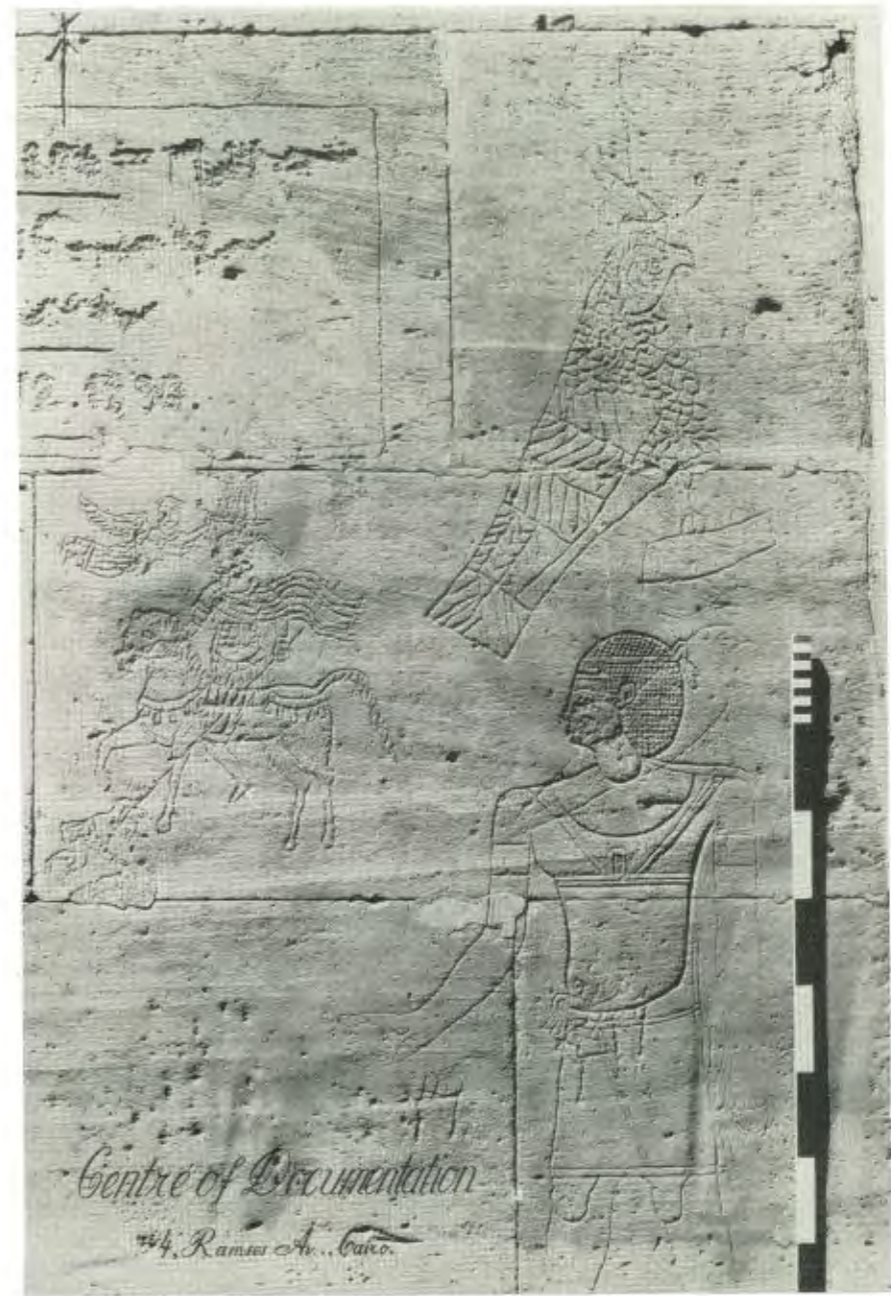


View of the graffito of Es-Sarrag (p. 276).

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Graffito showing hawks with double crowns in Kalabsha Temple (p. 278).



Graffito showing a rider in Kalabsha Temple (p. 279).



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